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EDWARD VI.

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By Mr. SALMON.

VOL. XIX.

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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXX.

A Concluſion of the Reign of HENRY VIII.

I Shall conclude this Year with obſerving, that notwithſtanding *America* had been diſcover'd a conſiderable time, the Treaſures of Gold and Silver which it contains were not found out till this Year, which made thoſe precious Minerals more plentiful in *Europe* than they had been formerly, and were a conſiderable Advantage to the Emperor *Charles* V. (who firſt poſſeſs'd them) in his Wars and Negotiations; even the Liberties of *Europe* were apprehended to be in great Danger by ſo vaſt an Addition of Wealth, heap'd upon an enterpriſing Prince already Maſter of ſo many fine Kingdoms and Provinces on this ſide the Ocean.

A.D. 1519

A. 11 *Hen* 8

The Wealth of *America* diſcover 'd this Year.

A D.1520

A.12Hen8

Francis tampers with *Wolsey* for the Surrender of *Calais.*

The following Year that famous Interview between the Monarchs of *England* and *France* was appointed to be held near *Guiesnes* in *Picardy* in the beginning of *June*, about which time, 'tis said, the *French* King prevail'd on the Cardinal to consent to the resigning up *Calais*, but that his Eminence found the King and the whole Nation so averse to the parting with that Fortress that he durst not propose it in Council; but I look upon this to be a pure Slander upon the Cardinal, for the same Writers intimate that the Cardinal was then in the Emperor's Interest. It is very possible the *French* King might make the Overture, and the Cardinal might put him off with declaring how much both the King and Kingdom were against it; from whence his Enemies probably concluded that the Cardinal himself was not averse to the Proposal. But as a further Proof that he was for parting with *Calais*, 'tis observ'd, that he would say in Conversation, *What is Calais to us? What have we to do with a Town upon the Continent?* But there is all the Reason in the World to believe that these Words were spoken ironically, if he did speak them at all; for there was scarce an *Englishman* but could see the Consequence of our being Masters on both sides the Channel, we were then indeed Sovereigns of the narrow Seas, especially if it be consider'd that *Calais* was a much better Port than it is at present, having been choak'd up with Sand of late Years. But to return to the intended Interview. While vast Preparations were making for it in *England*, (the principal Nobility being requir'd to attend the King to *France* with their most splendid Equipages) *Charles*, who was jealous of the Consequence

The Emperor arrives in *England.*

Consequence of it, propos'd privately his coming over into *England*, as by Accident, to confer with the King before he met *Francis* on the other side the Water; which *Henry* consenting to, went down to *Canterbury* the 25th of *May*, under Pretence of keeping the Festival of *Whitsuntide* there. And the next Day hearing that the Emperor was landed at *Dover*, he sent *Wolsey* thither to make his Compliments to that Prince; and the Day following he attended the Emperor in Person at *Dover*, and brought him back with him to *Canterbury*, where his Imperial Majesty was magnificently entertain'd; but what was of more Consequence, both *Henry* and his Prime Minister *Wolsey* were so influenc'd by the rich Presents, (the Spoils of the new World) and Promises that were made them, that they profess'd an inviolable Friendship for the Emperor, and gave him some Assurance, that in case of a Rupture between the Emperor and *Francis*, *England* would not join with the latter, † as the Lord *Herbert* and other Writers insinuate. But whatever might be the Subject of these Conferences, the Emperor took leave of the King of *England* on the 30th of *May*, and embark'd for *Flanders*; and the same Day the King took Shipping with his Queen, the Queen Dowager of *France*, and great part of the *English* Nobility of both Sexes, and landed at *Calais*. On the 4th of *June* the King and Court left *Calais*, and went to a magnificent Apartment which the King had caus'd to be fram'd in *England*, and was set up near the Castle of *Guisnes*; it form'd a Square, the Lord *Herbert* relates, of which each side contain'd three hundred and twenty-eight Feet,

A.D. 1520
An 12 *Hen.* 8

The Interview between the Kings of *France* and *England*.

† Herbert 35.

*A.D.*1520 *An.* 12 *Hen.* 8

and was richly furnish'd. The *French* King had another House or Apartment built on this Occasion near *Ardres*, where he resided with his Court. Before the two Monarchs met, the Cardinal adjusted some Matters with *Francis* relating to the Marriage agreed on between the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary*; as that after the *French* had made full Payment of the Million of Crowns that was due to the King of *England*, *Francis* should annually pay one hundred thousand Livres more to King *Henry* during his Life till the Marriage should be solemniz'd; but if the Marriage did not take Effect, then this Payment to cease. This Treaty being finish'd, the Interview began on the 7th of *June*. On the firing of a great Gun, each King mounted and rode from his Palace towards the Valley of *Ardres*, where being met, they alighted and embrac'd, and afterwards walk'd together into a magnificent Pavilion erected for that Purpose; and after a short Conference, they parted and return'd to their respective Palaces. The following Days were spent in Justs, Tournaments and other Martial Exercises; or in Feasts and Balls, giving or receiving Visits, and the like, of which the Reader may meet with a very particular Account in *Hall*'s *Chronicle*, who is said to have been an Eye-Witness. On the 24th of *June*, the several Courts taking leave of each other, King *Henry* return'd to *Calais*. While he remain'd there, the Emperor intimating that he was desirous of a second Conference with him, the King rode out towards *Gravelin*; and being met by his Imperial Majesty part of the Way, was conducted thither. The next Day the Emperor, with the Princess *Margaret* Governess of

A Treaty of Marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess *Mary*.

A second Interview between the Emperor and the King of *England*.

of the *Netherlands*, came to *Calais*, where they remain'd three Days, and were extremely careſs'd, which created a Jealouſy in *Francis* that ſome Alliance was forming between theſe Princes to his Diſadvantage; but it does not appear there was any thing particular agreed on at theſe Interviews. There is no doubt but the Emperor intended to cultivate a Friendſhip with the King of *England*, knowing how dangerous an Enemy he might prove if he ſhould join with *France*, and it was Natural for *Francis* to take Umbrage at theſe Meetings; but I find no ſufficient Grounds to believe there was any Treaty began at this time between the Emperor and *England*. A.D. 1520 — A 12 Hen. 8

Other Powers, it appears, endeavour'd to gain the Friendſhip of the Court of *England* at this time, and particularly the *Venetians*, who in a Letter to *Wolſey*, which we find in *Rymer*, * give him the Title of *Majeſty*, as the Univerſity of *Oxford* had done on ſome other Occaſion: For as Dr. *Fiddes* obſerves, the Title of *Majeſty* was not then appropriated to crown'd Heads; nor did the Univerſity deſign it as any peculiar Honour to the Cardinal; for they gave Archbiſhop *Warham* the ſame Appellation. But there are other Expreſſions in the Letter from the Duke of *Venice*, which carry an Air of Flattery, 'They tell the Cardinal that he is endow'd 'with Abilities and a Degree of Wiſdom, 'even ſurpaſſing human Credibility. That 'there was nothing ſo arduous and difficult, 'provided it was juſt and honourable, which 'his innate Goodneſs would not excite him 'to undertake, which his conſummate Wiſ-'dom could not regulate and direct after the beſt

The *Venetians* court the Cardinal, and give him the Title of *Majeſty*.

* *Dr.* Fiddes 178. Rymer, *Vol.* 13. *p.* 724.

*A.D.*1520 ‘ beſt manner, and which his *Supreme* Au-
‘ thority in the Kingdom, with which he was
*A*12*Hen.*8 ‘ ſo juſtly inveſted, might not enable him
‘ happily to execute.’

The Pope and the Emperor make conſiderable Grants to *Wolſey*.

But it is obſerv'd, that the Pope oblig'd the Cardinal to him by ſurer Bands than airy Compliments and diſtant Promiſes, for at the Inſtance of the Emperor he made him a Grant of 2000 Ducats upon the Biſhoprick of *Placentia* in *Spain*, and conſtituted him perpetual Adminiſtrator of the See of *Badajos*. In the mean time the Emperor was crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle* on the 21ſt of *October*, at a Time when the *Germans* were pretty much divided concerning *Luther*'s Doctrine. This Reformer, who at firſt only ridicul'd the ſcandalous Manner in which Indulgences were ſet to Sale, as has been obſerv'd, proceeded afterwards to enquire what Authority there was in Scripture for the Pope's granting Indulgences, and meeting with pretty ſevere Treatment from the Advocates of *Rome*, at length call'd in queſtion the Power that See aſſum'd over the reſt of the Churches of *Chriſtendom*; he aſſerted alſo, there was no Foundation for the Celibacy of Prieſts, Monaſtick Vows, *&c.* But the Treatiſe which gave the greateſt Offence was that entituled *The Babyloniſh Captivity*, in which he endeavour'd to expoſe the Papacy to the utmoſt Contempt; and as the Decretals of the Popes and the Works of *Thomas Aquinas* were were produc'd by his Adverſaries to ſupport the Authority of the See of *Rome*, he obſerv'd that it was extremely ridiculous in this Diſpute to urge the Decrees of Popes themſelves, and the Arguments of *Thomas Aquinas*, who was canoniz'd for carrying the Pope's Authority

Luther's Oppoſition to the See of *Rome*.

thority higher than any Writer that had gone before him, and treated the Writings of *Aquinas* as very mean Performances, which is ſuppos'd to have been the principal Reaſon of the King of *England*'s undertaking to anſwer *Luther*; this Prince having ſpent a great deal of time in ſtudying *Aquinas*, and profeſs'd himſelf a great Admirer of him. The King's Treatiſe againſt *Luther* was entituled *Concerning the Seven Sacraments*. He began it in *April*, 1521, and finiſh'd it the *September* following: He took upon him to defend the Doctrine of Indulgences, the Pope's Authority, the ſeven Sacraments, and indeed every thing that *Luther* pretended to diſpute. This Book was preſented to *Leo* X. by Dr. *Clark*, Dean of *Windſor*, in a full Conſiſtory. His Holineſs receiv'd it with the higheſt Marks of Eſteem, comparing it to the Works of St. *Jerom* and St. *Auſtin*, and by his Bull conferr'd on the King of *England* and his Succeſſors the Title of *Defenders of the Faith*, to expreſs the grateful Senſe he had of the Service the King had done the Church by this Eſſay; but I refer the Reader to Lord *Herbert*, and Mr. *Rymer*'s Collections, for a further Account of this Matter. *

A.D. 1521
A 13 *Hen.* 8

King *Henry* writes a Treatiſe againſt *Luther*.

He is ſtil'd Defender of the Faith

In the mean time *Wolſey* procur'd another Bull from *Leo* X. to inlarge his Authority beyond what ever any Legate had enjoy'd before him: He was empower'd to make Knights and Count Palatines, to legitimate Baſtards, to grant all manner of Diſpenſations, to conſtitute Maſters of Faculties, and with the King's Conſent he had the rich Abby of *St. Alban's* conferr'd on him in *commendam*. But our Hiſtorians ſuggeſt, that he ſometimes

The Cardinal's Power enlarg'd.

The Abby of St. *Alban's* given him.

* Herbert, 37. Rymer, *Vol.* 13. *p.* 738.

*A.D.*1521 *A* 13 *Hen.*8

ſometimes made a very ill Uſe of the Influence he had in temporal as well as eccleſiaſtical Affairs, and ſtretch'd and wreſted the Laws to the Deſtruction of the greateſt Subjects; particularly in the caſe of the Duke of *Bucks*, who having found fault with the needleſs Expence the Cardinal had put the Nation to in the late Interview between the two Kings, and ſome other Parts of his Adminiſtration, 'tis ſaid, *Wolſey* determin'd to make that Nobleman a Sacrifice to his Reſentment. The Account the Lord *Herbert* gives of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Caſe is this.

The Duke of *Bucks* found guilty of High Treaſon.

Charles Knevet, the Duke's Steward in *Kent*, having been turn'd out, on Complaint of his Grace's Tenants, found an Opportunity of making the Cardinal acquainted with ſome very imprudent, if not treaſonable Converſation of his Lord; as that he conſulted with one *Hopkins*, a Monk, who pretended to the Gift of Prophecy, when the King wou'd die, and whether he wou'd leave any Male Iſſue, and declar'd that he (the Duke) was next Heir the Crown, if the King died without a Son; and that he had endeavour'd to render himſelf popular, in order to aſcend the Throne; but that which ſeems to approach neareſt to Treaſon, if it was not actually ſo, was the Duke's declaring, on occaſion of his being threatned with the Tower, that if he was ſent thither, thoſe who ſent him ſhould have no cauſe to rejoice, for he would do as his Father deſign'd to have done by *Richard* III. *ſtabb'd the King with a Dagger when he ſhou'd have been brought before him.* * The Duke indeed deny'd every Part of the Indictment, and ſaid *it was falſe, conſpir'd and*

* Herbert, 41.

and forg'd to put him to Death, and gave several Reasons to shew the Improbability of his having been guilty of such Expressions; but the Witnesses, *viz. Knevet*, *Hopkins*, and two others, being produc'd in Court, and affirming the Charge to be true upon their Oaths, he was convicted by his Peers, consisting of one Duke, one Marquis, seven Earls, and twelve Barons; whereupon the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was High-Steward on this occasion, pass'd Sentence on him as a Traitor. The Prisoner answer'd, that he was no Traitor; however he forgave them his Death, nor shou'd he sue to the King for his Life, and desir'd their Prayers, but says not one Word against the Illegality of the Proceedings; whereas my Friend *Rapin* has found out two hundred Years afterwards, that the Duke had not a legal Trial, because *all* the Lords of the Kingdom were not present; whereas when a Peer was try'd *out of Parliament*, there never were any more Peers (save as Judges) than the King appointed in the Commission before the late Revolution; but this was added in order to render the Cardinal still more odious than the rest of our Historians have represented him; and after all, considering the Evidence against the Duke of *Bucks*, and that he was convicted by all those noble Peers present, without a dissenting Vote, the Reflections on the Cardinal, as if he was the sole Author of this Nobleman's Death, seem a little too severe; the Peers who condemn'd him ought to share the Reproach, if he did not deserve his Sentence; but I refer the Reader to Dr. *Fiddes* * for a further Defence of the Cardinal in this

A.D. 1521
A 13 Hen. 8

Rapin's Mistake as to the Duke's Trial.

* *Dr.* Fiddes, 273.

*A.D.*1521 Particulars I ſhall only add, that the Duke had the uſual Favour afforded to thoſe of his Rank of being beheaded, which was executed on *Tower-Hill*, the 17th of *May*, 1521.

An. 18 *Hen.* 8

The Duke is beheaded

Great Part of the Arable Lands in *England* having been laid down and converted into Paſture of late Years, abundance of Farm Houſes were ſuffer'd to run to Decay, and the poor People wanted Employment; whereupon the Miniſtry thought fit this Year to put the Laws in Execution for the Encouragement of Tillage, and Commiſſions were iſſu'd to the Juſtices of Peace to throw open all Encloſures which had been made within the Space of fifty Years.

Encloſures thrown open.

Having taken a View of Domeſtick Occurrences, it will be neceſſary to ſee what was doing in other Parts of *Europe*, ſo far at leaſt as it had any Relation to *England*; and it appears that the *French* King was ſo piqu'd at his Diſappointment in miſſing the Empire, or alarm'd at the Encreaſe of Power his Rival had obtain'd by his Election, that he determin'd to give a Check to his Greatneſs; however he was very cautious of commencing Hoſtilities againſt the Emperor, leſt the King of *England* ſhou'd join with him, as he was oblig'd to do by the Treaty of *London*, *Anno* 1518, if *Francis* prov'd the Aggreſſor. He endeavour'd therefore to give *Charles* ſuch Provocations as ſhou'd induce him to ſtrike the firſt Blow; and if he cou'd bring that about, *Henry* by the ſame Treaty was oblig'd to take the Part of *France*.

Miſunderſtandings between *France* and the Emperor.

The *French* King therefore having rais'd an Army, gave the Command of it to General *Leſparre*, ordering him to endeavour the Reduction of *Navarre*; for by the Treaty of *Noyon*,

The *French* King attacks *Navarre*, and afterwards *Spain*.

Noyon, *Charles* was oblig'd to yield up that Kingdom to *Henry de Albret*, the former Sovereign, within the Space of four Months; and in case he neglected it, *Francis* was at Liberty to assist *D'Albret*, in the Recovery of that Country; and *Spain* being at this time engag'd in Civil Wars, *Francis* look'd upon the Opportunity to be extremely favourable for his Purpose. A.D. 1521 — A. 13 Hen. 8

Lesparre the *French* General therefore entring *Navarre* the Beginning of *March*, and meeting with no Enemy to oppose him, made himself Master of that Kingdom in little more than a Fortnight, after which he proceeded to invade *Spain* itself, and laid siege to the Town of *Legrogno* in *Biscay*, whereby his Master was unexpectedly become the Aggressor in the War with *Charles*, for which he paid very dear afterwards; nor was *Lesparre* able to maintain the Conquests he had made; for tho' the *Spaniards* were disgusted with the Emperor for encroaching on their Privileges, and had rais'd an Insurrection on that account, yet when they saw the *French* had invaded their Country, they join'd their Forces with those of the Government, defeated *Lesparre* and made him Prisoner, driving the *French* out of *Navarre* in less time than they conquer'd it.

The *French* driven out of *Navarre*

About the same time the *French* King incited *Robert de la Mark*, Prince of *Sedan* and Sovereign of *Bouillon*, a Vassal of the Empire, to attack the Emperor's Territories on the side of *Luxemburgh*, on Pretence of some Injustice done him, and suffer'd that Prince to raise four or five thousand Men in *France* to reinforce his Army, which was another Breach of the Treaty of *London*: Whereupon the Emperor insisted that the King of *England*

They assist the Prince of *Sedan* with Forces to attack *Luxemburgh*.

*A.D.*1521 shou'd join him with his Troops, as the Treaty of *London* requir'd, in order to procure Satisfaction of *Francis*, who had notoriously broken the Peace: But King *Henry*, in pursuance of that Treaty, first sent an Ambassador to *Francis*, requiring that he wou'd withdraw his Troops out of *Luxemburgh* and *Navarre*, and forbear further Hostilities; and accordingly the *French* King did recall his Forces out of *Luxemburgh*. But the Emperor insisted on Satisfaction for the Damages he had sustain'd, as he was entituled to do by the last-mention'd Treaty, and sending an Army, under the Command of Count *Nassau*, into the Territories of *La Mark*, he took several Towns from him, and oblig'd that Prince to make his Submission; and as he did not want Proof that *La Mark* had been supported and encourag'd by the *French* King, he look'd upon the Peace to be broken by *France*, and therefore having encreas'd his Army, he prepar'd to invade *Champaign*, whereupon *Francis* represented to the King of *England*, that he cou'd not avoid the raising Forces to repel the Danger he was threatned with, and as he was upon the Defensive, hop'd for *Henry*'s Assistance in case of a War between him and *Charles*; to which King *Henry* answer'd, that he intended to stand neuter, but at the same time offer'd to arbitrate the Differences between them, and both Parties accepting his Umpirage, *Wolsey* was sent ovet to *Calais* the Beginning of *August* to mediate between the Emperor and the *French* King, who sent their respective Ambassadors thither, and the Pope also had his Nuntio there: But still the War was carried on in the *Low Countries*: The Emperor laid siege to *Tournay*; and on the other hand the *French* took

*A.*13 *Hen.*8

The King of *England* requires *Francis* to withdraw his Troops.

The Emperor attacks the Territories of *France*.

Wolsey sent to *Calais* to mediate a Peace.

took *Landrecy*, *Bouchain*, and several other Places from the Imperialists. A.D. 1521

A 13 Hen. 8

In the mean time the Pope and the Emperor having entred into a Confederacy against *France*, the Pope under pretence that the *French* Governor of *Milan* had committed Hostilities in his Territories, assembled an Army of *Italians* and *Swiss*, which were commanded by his General *Prosper Colunna*, who being join'd with the Imperial Troops from *Naples*, invaded *Milan*, took the Capital City, and oblig'd most Part of the *Milanese* to submit to him, the *French* remaining possess'd only of the Castle of *Milan*, *Navarra*, and some other Fortresses.

The Pope and Imperialists drive the *French* out of the *Milanese*.

While the War was carried on between the Imperialists and the *French*, both in *Italy* and *Flanders*, Cardinal *Wolsey* continu'd to arbitrate between the contending Parties at *Calais*, but with little Hopes of Success; for the Imperial Ministers demanded the Restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, and that *France* shou'd relinquish the Homage of *Flanders* and *Artois*, alledging that it was not fit an Emperor shou'd do Homage to a King. On the other hand the *French* insisted on the Restitution of *Milan* and *Navarre*, and that the Emperor shou'd raise the Siege of *Tournay*. *Wolsey* finding the Ministers of both Powers very positive in their Demands, and enclin'd to make no Concessions, sent the Lord *St. John* and Sir *Thomas Bolein* to the Emperor, and the Earl of *Worcester* and the Bishop of *Ely* to the *French* King, to treat personally with those Princes; * and these Ambassadors were so

* Herbert 44. Bellay.

A.D. 1521 / 13 Hen. 8

so successful in their Negotiations, that they prevail'd on the Emperor to consent to raise the Siege of *Tournay*, and withdraw his Troops out of the *Milanese*, which the *French* King also agreed to evacuate, and the rest of the Differences between these two Princes were referr'd to the King of *England*; but in the very Instant when the Treaty was upon the Point of being sign'd, Advice coming that *Bonnivet* the *French* General had invaded *Biscay* in *Spain*, and taken the Town of *Fontarabia*, the Emperor refus'd to ratify the Treaty unless *Fontarabia* was restor'd, and *Francis* insisting on the keeping it, both sides prepar'd to continue the War; and as the King of *England* was oblig'd by the Treaty of *London* to join with the Aggressor, as *France* was held to be by *Wolsey*, *Henry* on the breaking off the Conferences enter'd into an Alliance with the Pope and the Emperor, which perhaps he had not done however, if the *French* had not sent over the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland* to infest the *English* Borders, contrary to their Treaties with *England*.

The *French* King and the Emperor accommodate their Differences.

The Treaty interrupted by the taking *Fontarabia*.

An Alliance between the Emperor, *England*, and the Pope.

Terms of it.

The Treaty between the Pope, the Emperor and *England*, recites, that since the War with the *Turk* could not be undertaken till the Pride and Ambition of *France* were abated, the contracting Powers therefore declare themselves Enemies to the *French*, and that in *May*, 1523, the Pope shou'd attack them in *Italy*, the Emperor in the *Low Countries* and *Spain*, and *Henry* invade the Coast of *France* that lay next him with ten thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot; that the Emperor and the King of *England* also shou'd set out a strong Fleet to oppose that of the *French*, and

and that the Pope shou'd thunder out his Excommunications and Censures against the *French* King, and lay all his Dominions under an Interdict, empowering the Emperor and the King of *England* to make War upon him as an Enemy to the Church; that the Emperor and the King of *England* shou'd defend the Pope and the House of *Medicis*, and maintain the Catholick Faith in their respective Dominions. And after the War with *France* shou'd be ended, turn their Arms against the *Turks*; that notwithstanding the Emperor had agreed to marry the *French* King's Daughter, the Pope shou'd grant him his Dispensation to marry the Princess *Mary* of *England*. In the mean time the Privilege of fishing in the narrow Seas and the Use of the *English* Ports was to be allow'd the *French* till the *February* following. This Treaty was sign'd on the 24th of *November*, 1521. *

A D. 1521 — An 13 Hen. 8

The Generality of Writers, and especially the *French*, have censur'd this Alliance as very impolitick on the Part of *England*, and ascribe it altogether to the Influence that *Wolsey* had over his Master: They suggest that the Cardinal had fix'd his Eyes upon the Papacy, and having obtain'd the Emperor's Promise to advance him to it on the next Vacancy, he neglected every thing in order to attain his Ends; nay, they charge him even with poisoning Pope *Leo*, who happen'd to die the first of *December*, about a Week after the Conclusion of the above-said Treaty. But if it be consider'd, that the *French*

This Alliance ascrib'd to the Cardinal's private Views.

Pope *Leo* dies.

* Herbert 44.

*A.D.*1521 *A.*13 *Hen.*8

French King had been for ſome time out of temper with the Court of *England*, that he had actually ſent the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland*, in order to create King *Henry* Enemies on that Side, that the *French* had diſcontinu'd the Payments they were to make to *England*, and that nothing is more evident than that the *French* King began Hoſtilities againſt the Emperor as well in *Luxemburgh* as *Navarre*, the Cardinal will not want an Apology for adviſing the King to take the Part of the Imperialiſts; and if he had a View to the Papacy at the ſame time, I don't apprehend there was any great Crime in it. As to his poiſoning the Pope, I look upon this to be pure *French* Slander, it being generally agreed that he died with a Tranſport of Joy for the Succeſs of his Arms in the *Milaneſe*; and ſome have inſinuated on the other ſide, that he was poiſon'd by the Procurement of the *French* King, in revenge for his invading the *Milaneſe* and entring into a Confederacy againſt him. I ſhall conclude the Occurrences of this Year with the taking of *Tournay*, which ſurrender'd to the Emperor, on Articles, the 19th Day of *December*, 1521. In this Campaign it was that Muſquets were firſt us'd by the Soldiery according to Monſieur *Bellay*.

Tournay taken by the Emperor.

Muſquets firſt us'd.

*A.D.*1522 *A*14 *Hen* 8

The King of *England* being apprehenſive that now the Duke of *Albany* was return'd to *Scotland*, he muſt expect e'er long to be attack'd from that Quarter, which would be an Impediment to his Deſigns againſt *France*, wrote to the Queen Dowager and to the Parliament to expel him the Kingdom again, ſuggeſting, that he was come over with an Intent to favour the Deſigns of the *French*. He charges him alſo with a Deſign upon the young

King *Henry* writes to the Parliament of *Scotland* to expel the Duke of *Albany*.

young King of *Scots* his Nephew, and that in order to uſurp his Throne, he was endeavouring to procure a Divorce for the Queen of *Scotland*, that he might marry her himſelf, (and indeed the Earl of *Angus*, ever ſince his leaving the Queen in *Northumberland*, had forſaken her Bed and liv'd with another Woman; whereupon the Queen had ſued for a Divorce at *Rome*, and was aſſiſted in it by the Duke of *Albany.)* To which the Parliament anſwer'd, that indeed the Regent was return'd to *Scotland*, at the Inſtance of the Nobility, but that he did not appear to have any Deſigns againſt their King, or to marry the Queen Dowager, tho' he did aſſiſt her in her Suit for a Divorce, for he had a Wife already, and in ſhort, that they would not oblige the Duke to leave the Kingdom. The Queen-Dowager alſo wrote to her Brother King *Henry*, wherein ſhe declares, ſhe was very much concern'd, that he ſhould give Credit to the Report of her intending to marry the Regent, tho' ſhe acknowledg'd, that it was by her Advice that he had been recall'd from *France*, adding, that the King had been an unkind Brother to her, or ſhe ſhould not have wanted the Protection of a Stranger.

*A.D.*1522
A 14 *Hen.*8

Queen *Margaret* ſues a Divorce from the Earl of *Angus*.

The King of *England* finding the *Scots* had but little regard to his Remonſtrances, order'd the Lord *Dacres*, Warden of the Weſt Marches, to cauſe Proclamation to be made on the Borders of *Scotland*, that if the *Scots* did not conclude a Peace with him by a time prefix'd, they muſt expect to be invaded, or to that Effect. Whereupon the Regent rais'd an Army to defend his Country, but finding many of the *Scotiſh* Nobility averſe to a War,

A Truce with *Scotland*.

A.D. 1522 — *A.* 14 *Hen.* 8

he concluded a Truce with *England*, and return'd to *France*, being convinc'd, that without a Reinforcement of *French* Troops, he ſhould never be able to ſerve his great Ally King *Francis* to any purpoſe.

About the ſame time *Francis* pretending that the Emperor had been the Aggreſſor in the War commenc'd between them, ſent to demand *Henry*'s Aſſiſtance againſt him, in purſuance of the Treaty of *London*, whereby the Parties were to aſſiſt him that was firſt attack'd. But *Henry* inſtead of Troops, ſent over an Herald with a Declaration of War againſt *Francis*, alledging that the Emperor was firſt attack'd by *France*, and that *Francis* alſo had broke his Word with *England*, by ſending the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland*. However, before *Henry* actually enter'd upon a War, he thought fit to take a Survey of the whole Kingdom of *England*, and make an Eſtimate of his Power. Whereupon he requir'd the High-Conſtables of every Hundred, to bring before certain Commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, an exact Particular of every Man's Eſtate, Real and Perſonal, within their reſpective Hundreds, by which he diſcover'd the Wealth of his Kingdom to exceed his Expectations, and as Money would be wanting for the intended War with *France*, he ſent to ſeveral of his moſt ſubſtantial Subjects, to raiſe him, by way of Loan, certain Sums in Proportion to their Eſtates, the Value whereof he inſiſted they ſhould give in upon Oath; but it appears that the City of *London* abſolutely refus'd to comply with this Demand, inſiſting that great part of their Effects were abroad, and their Debts precarious, ſo that it was impoſſible

Declaration of War againſt *France*.

A Survey of all the Eſtates of the Kingdom by Commiſſioners.

The King requires a Loan of his Subjects.

impoſſible for them to know exactly the State of their Affairs; whereupon the King was content to accept a Loan of twenty thouſand Pounds of the City. A.D. 1522. A. 14 Hen. 8

In the mean time *Wolſey* ſent his Agents to *Rome*, loaded with Treaſure, to make an Intereſt among the Cardinals for the Popedom, he wrote alſo to the Emperor, to put him in mind of his Promiſes on that Head, and, 'tis ſaid, he had at one time nineteen Voices in the Conclave; however, he loſt the Election, *Adrian*, Preceptor to the Emperor, and Governor at *Caſtille*, carried it, tho' the Emperor pretended to *Wolſey*, that it was a meer Accident, and not by any Contrivance of his, nor did the Cardinal ſeem to reſent it, either becauſe he could not expect to be preferr'd before his Imperial Majeſty's Tutor, or that he had Reaſon to believe there would be another Vacancy ſuddenly, *Adrian* being very old, and then he might ſucceed by the ſame Intereſt. However, the Emperor apprehending that the Cardinal was out of Temper at the Diſappointment, and might enter into Meaſures not very agreeable to him, came over into *England*, and confirm'd or rather renew'd the Treaty of Alliance between his Imperial Majeſty and King *Henry*, in relation to the War with *France*, and the reſpective Quota's of Troops were ſettled; tho' 'tis obſervable, this Treaty was not to be carried into Execution till two Years afterwards, *viz.* in *May*, 1524.

Wolſey makes Intereſt for the Papacy.

Adrian elected Pope.

The Emperor comes into *England*, and concludes a freſh Alliance.

The Emperor, while he was in *England*, was entertain'd with Juſts, Tournaments, and Balls, the uſual Diverſions of thoſe Times, and having been admitted into the Order of the Garter, was perſonally Inſtall'd at *Windſor*.

*A.D.*1522 *A.*14*Hen*8.

The Emperor, on the other hand, engag'd to pay all the Money that *Francis* was to have paid to the Crown of *England*, as well as the twelve thousand Livres *per Annum*, which *Wolsey* was to receive for the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, besides an Annual Pension of two thousand five hundred Ducats, which the Emperor had a little before engag'd to pay the Cardinal. The Emperor also made Presents to the rest of the *English* Ministers, which it appears he was enabled to do by a great Sum which King *Henry* lent him at this time; for the Emperor was still very poor; tho' the *Spaniards* had discover'd the Gold and Silver Mines in *America*, they had not then receiv'd any considerable Returns from thence, or at least not answerable to the Demands the Emperor had for Money.

He borrows a great Sum of King *Henry*.

This Prince, while he was in *England*, constituted the *English* Admiral, the Earl of *Surry*, Admiral of the Imperial Navy, who with the united Fleets, made two Descents on the Coast of *France*, ravag'd the Country, and carried off a very great Booty; after which he took the Emperor on board at *Southampton*, the sixth of *July*, and convoy'd him to St. *Andero* in *Spain*, where his Imperial Majesty landed the sixteenth.

The *English* Admiral Convoys the Emperor to *Spain*.

The Earl of *Surry* being return'd to *England*, embark'd fourteen or fifteen thousand Men on board the Fleet, and having landed them at *Calais*, march'd at the Head of this Army towards St. *Omers*, near which Place he was join'd by a Body of *Flemish* Troops, commanded by *Horence de Egmand* the Imperial General; and meeting with no Enemy in the Field to oppose them, they ravag'd the Frontiers of *France*, taking the Towns of

France invaded by the *English* and Imperialists on the side of *Picardy*.

of *Heſdin*, *Dourlans*, and ſeveral other ſmall Places; but it being late in the Year, the Ways and Weather bad, the Army ſickly, and the two Generals not agreeing perfectly well, no Siege of Conſequence was undertaken; whereupon the Armies ſeparated, and the Earl of *Surry* tranſported his Troops to *England* again. *A.D.*1522 *A.*14*Hen.*8

In the mean time the War in *Italy* was renew'd, after the Death of *Leo*, and the *French* receiving a notable Defeat by *Proſper Colonna*, the Pope's General at *Bicoca*, were driven out of the *Milaneſe* and *Genoa* again, retaining ſcarce any of their Conqueſts in that Country, but the Caſtle of *Cremona*. The *French* driven out of *Italy*.

The Loan already mention'd having fallen very ſhort of the Expectation of the Court the laſt Year, and there being Occaſion for a freſh Supply for the Service of the preſent, towards the carrying on the War againſt *France*, and for defending the Borders againſt the *Scots*, a Parliament and Covocation * were ſummon'd to aſſemble on the 15th of *April*. The Cardinal firſt applied himſelf to the Convocation, not doubting but by the Influence he had on that Aſſembly, to induce them to grant the King an Aid ſuitable to his Neceſſities, and which would prove a good Example to the Laity: And tho' he met with ſome Oppoſition from the Biſhops of *Winchester* and *Rocheſter*, one *Philips*, and others, yet having ſilenc'd ſome, and caus'd others to *A.D.*1523 14&15*H*8 Supplies demanded of the Convocation.

* *This Convocation alſo was ſummon'd by the Cardinal, to treat of the Reformation both of the Clergy and Laity, which* Fox *Biſhop of* Wincheſter *highly applauds him for, in a Letter to him on that Subject.* Strype's Mem. *Vol.* I. *p.* 46.

A.D. 1523 14&15 *H.*8 to abſent themſelves, it was at length carried in the Convocation, that the Clergy ſhould grant the King one half of their Revenues, payable in five Years, being equal to two Shillings in the Pound for every Year. The Cardinal afterwards made a Speech to the Commons, complaining of Breach of Faith in the *French* King, in not obſerving the League that had been made at *London*, for the general Peace of Chriſtendom, and his detaining the Payments of Money that were due to this Crown, which, he ſaid, had oblig'd the King to enter into a Confederacy with the Emperor and other Powers againſt him, and computed that the Charges of the Government to ſupport this War, would not amount to leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds; he propos'd therefore, their giving a fifth part of their Revenues, to be rais'd within the Space of four Years: Sir *Thomas More*, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, alſo urg'd ſeveral Reaſons for their raiſing the Money demanded: Whereupon the Commons reſolv'd, that every Eſtate of twenty Pounds *per Ann.* and upwards, ſhould pay two Shillings in the Pound *, and Eſtates from twenty Pounds a Year to forty Shillings a Year, one Shilling in the Pound; and every Perſon whoſe Eſtate was under forty Shillings a Year, to pay four Pence a Head within two Years.

Who grant half the Revenues of the Clergy.

The Commons refuſe to give as much as the Cardinal demands.

The

* *One of the Members of the Commons declares, that none of the King's Anceſtors ever receiv'd more than one Shilling in the Pound, and he trembled to think where theſe extraordinary Demands would end.* Strype's Mem. 49.

The Cardinal finding the Commons had given but half as much as he expected, came to their Houſe, and deſir'd to know the Reaſons why they gave no more. To which it was anſwer'd, that by the Orders of that Houſe they were to hear, but not to reaſon and debate Matters, unleſs among themſelves; whereupon the Cardinal left them. However, it was at length agreed * to pay three Shillings in the Pound, to be levy'd in three Years, and another Shilling the fourth Year; from whence it appears that the Clergy paid more than double the Taxes of the Laity. An Act was made alſo, empowering all thoſe who ſhou'd attend the King in his Wars, to diſpoſe of their Lands by Will, without paying any Fines for the Alienation of them; and an Act for the eſtabliſhing the College of Phyſicians in *London*; and another Act, diſpenſing with the Marriage of the ſix Clerks in Chancery.

A.D. 1523
14&15 *H*8

They give 12 Pence in the Pound for four Years.

The College of Phyſicians eſtabliſhed.

The Attainder of the late Duke of *Bucks* alſo was confirm'd by Act of Parliament, the Reaſon whereof poſſibly was becauſe of the Rumor which generally prevail'd at that time, that he was ſacrific'd to the Cardinal's Malice, and not guilty of the Treaſon laid to his Charge. His Eminence might preſume when the Duke was adjudg'd guilty by the whole Legiſlature, this Nobleman's Death wou'd no longer be aſcrib'd to his Practices. However, in the midſt of Judgment it ſeems they remember'd Mercy, for the Lord *Henry Stafford*, his Son, was reſtor'd to Blood, and the King the ſame Year granted to him and *Urſula*,

The Duke of *Bucks*'s Attainder confirm'd.

His Son reſtor'd to Blood.

* Herbert, 56.

A.D. 1523 — 14 & 15 H8

la his Wife, the Daughter of Sir *Richard Pole* by *Margaret* the Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Heirs, Part of the Lands of the late Duke of *Bucks*, and particularly the Caſtle and Manor of *Stafford*. The King was alſo empower'd to reverſe all Attainders of High Treaſon, and reſtore the Heirs of the Delinquents by his Letters Patent during his Majeſty's Life, and ſeveral other beneficial Acts were made, which will be found at the End of this Reign.

The Cardinal obtains the Biſhoprick of *Durham*.

The Cardinal this Year procur'd the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to be conferr'd on him in Exchange for that of *Bath* and *Wells*, and his Legantine Power prolong'd for five Years.

The King and Queen of *Denmark* arrive in *England*.

About the ſame time the King and Queen of *Denmark* being driven out of their Kingdom by their Subjects, were kindly entertain'd by the Court of *England*, that Princeſs being Niece to Queen *Katharine*; tho' my Friend *Rapin* aſcribes their hoſpitable Reception altogether to the Influence of *Wolſey*, who paid his Court to the Queen of *Denmark*, he ſuggeſts, becauſe ſhe was the Emperor's Siſter, and he ſtill hop'd to arrive at the Pontificate by her Brother's Intereſt: He might have ſpar'd his Invectives againſt *Wolſey* on this Occaſion, when there was another ſubſtantial reaſon for careſſing theſe Princes. *Wolſey* had no doubt very great Faults; but how it comes to paſs that our Hiſtorians have agreed to charge him with being always in the wrong, and to aſcribe every thing that was done to his ſiniſter Views, is not eaſy to account for; however, *Rapin* far exceeds the reſt, going out of his Way, and picking up every little Circumſtance to render

Rapin's Spleen againſt *Wolſey*.

render that Prelate odious. But I refer the Reader to Dr. *Fiddes*, the Cardinal's Advocate, who has ſet great Part of the Cardinal's Adminiſtration in a very favourable Light. * A.D. 1523 14 & 15 H8

The Duke of *Bourbon* having been diſguſted by the *French* King this Year, enter'd into a Confederacy with the Emperor and *England* againſt his Sovereign. This Nobleman, 'tis related, had the Misfortune to incur the King's Diſpleaſure, as well as his Mother *Louiſe*'s, by refuſing to marry her. She was a Daughter of *Savoy*, and pretty much advanc'd in Years, but had ſet her Affections upon the Duke, and finding he ſlighted her, did him all manner of ill Offices: She prevail'd on the King to give the Command of his Army to another Nobleman, tho' the Duke was Conſtable of *France*, and claim'd that Poſt as his Right: She alſo commenc'd a Suit againſt the Duke, and endeavour'd to deprive him of his whole Eſtate; and as ſhe had a great Influence on the King her Son, and the Miniſtry, was in a fair Way of accompliſhing his Ruin, which induc'd him to enter into the Alliance already mention'd with the Emperor and the King of *England*, wherein it was ſtipulated, that when thoſe two Powers ſhou'd have conquer'd *France*, *Provence* ſhould be erected into a Kingdom, of which the Duke was to be Sovereign, and to marry the Emperor's Siſter, *Eleanora*, the Relict of *Don Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*. The Duke engag'd to raiſe ſeven or eight thouſand Men, which being join'd by a like Number of Imperialiſts, were to attack *France*, on the Side

The Duke of *Bourbon* enters into a Confederacy with the Emperor and *England*.

* *See Dr.* Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal* Wolſey.

A.D 1523 of *Burgundy*, while the *Spaniards* invaded *Gascony*, and the *English Picardy*.

14&15 *H*8

Francis not being appriz'd of this Confederacy, made great Preparations to pass the *Alps*, and recover the *Milanese* again; but receiving Intelligence as he was upon his March to *Lyons*, that the Duke of *Bourbon* held a Correspondence with his Enemy the Emperor, he did not think fit to leave the Kingdom, but gave the Command of his Army to Admiral *Bonnivet*, who pass'd the *Alps*, enter'd the *Milanese*, and made himself Master of *Novarra*, and several other Places. He afterwards laid Siege to the City of *Milan*; but *Prosper Colonna*, the Pope's General, having thrown himself into that Capital with an Army of fifteen thousand Men, *Bonnivet* was oblig'd to retire; not long after which, *Colonna* dying, the Duke of *Bourbon* had the Command of the Confederate Army in *Italy* conferr'd upon him; but it being now the Depth of Winter, the respective Armies on that Side were oblig'd to go into Winter Quarters.

The *French* invade the *Milanese* again.

About the time the *French* invaded the *Milanese* (*viz.* the Middle of *September*) the Duke of *Suffolk* with 15000 Men join'd the Imperial General, the Count *De Bure*, in *Flanders*, and with their united Forces, consisting of twenty-five or thirty thousand Men, they march'd thro' *Picardy*, plundering the Country till they came within ten or twelve Leagues of *Paris*, without any Opposition from the Enemy. They afterwards took *Montdidier* and some other Places; but these Towns being at a Distance from the Frontiers, and of no great Strength, they thought fit to abandon them, and put their Troops into Winter-Quarters; for

The *English* and *Dutch* invade *France*.

They are oblig'd to retire by the Severity of the Season.

for this was one of the hardeſt Winters that had been known in *France*. King *Henry* however hearing of the Succeſs of his Army, had rais'd fifteen thouſand Men to reinforce it, and enable the Confederates to maintain their Conqueſts; and was ſo highly incens'd at the ſudden Retreat of his General the Duke of *Suffolk*, that the Duke was oblig'd to remain at *Calais* ſome time, before he cou'd appeaſe his Majeſty, and make him ſenſible of the Impoſſibility of keeping the Field with the Army in that ſevere Seaſon. Here *Rapin*, contrary to the expreſs Teſtimony of other Writers, and particularly the Lord *Herbert*, * affirms that the Confederates retir'd on the Approach of an Army of forty thouſand of his Countrymen; whereas that noble Hiſtorian affirms, that the *French* had no Army on foot on the Side of *Picardy* at that time. A.D. 1523 14&15 H8

The *French* having ſent the Groſs of their Troops into the *Milaneſe*, the *Spaniards* laid Siege to *Fontarabia*, which ſurrender'd to them within a few Days after it was inveſted. The Imperialiſts alſo penetrated into *Champaign* and *Burgundy* with ſeven or eight thouſand Men, and having ravag'd and plunder'd the Country, retir'd on the Approach of the Duke of *Guiſnes*, as the *French* Writers affirm; tho' as all theſe Expeditions were perform'd in that ſevere Winter, *Anno* 1523, it is much more likely that the Seaſon, and not the Enemy, oblig'd the Imperialiſts to retreat, as well as the *Engliſh*. *Fontarabia* retaken by the *Spaniards*.

Pope *Adrian*, who had engag'd in the Confederacy with the Emperor and the reſt Pope *Adrian* dies.

* Herbert, 58.

A.D. 1523 14&16 H 8

of the Powers of *Europe* againſt *France* this Year, did not live to ſee the Succeſs of it, his Holineſs dying on the fourteenth of *September*, much about the time that the ſeveral Armies took the Field; whereupon Cardinal *Wolſey* was again in hopes to be plac'd at the Head of the Church. He wrote to the Emperor, ſent his Agents to *Rome*, and prevail'd on his Maſter King *Henry* to write to the Emperor with his own Hand, to make uſe of his Intereſt on this Occaſion; but whether the Emperor did not deſire to ſee an *Engliſhman* advanc'd, apprehending he would ſtill remain devoted to the Intereſt of *England*, and not be ſo eaſily manag'd as another, his Imperial Majeſty procur'd *Julio de Medicis* to be elected, notwithſtanding his being the ſpurious Iſſue of *Julian de Medicis*; for *Leo* X. when the preſent Pope was made Cardinal, having found Witneſſes who atteſted that *Julian* had promis'd his Mother Marriage (and that he married her after the Birth of *Julio*) declar'd that this Promiſe was equivalent to a Marriage, and conſequently their Son *Julio* legitimate, for otherwiſe he cou'd not have been made Cardinal, and much leſs elected Pope, Baſtards not being capable of thoſe Dignities.

Wolſey diſappointed of the Papacy again, and Cardinal *Julio de Medicis* elected Pope.

Wolſey, notwithſtanding he was again diſappointed of the Papacy, ſhew'd no manner of Uneaſineſs on that ſcore, but order'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors at *Rome* to compliment his Holineſs on his Exaltation, both in the King's Name and his own: And *Julio*, who had taken upon him the Name of *Clement* VII. to make the Cardinal ſome amends for his miſſing the Papacy, made him his perpetual Legate, and inveſted him with ſuch other Powers, that he was rever'd as a Pope in *England*

Wolſey diſcovers no Uneaſineſs at his Diſappointment.

He is made Legate for Life.

land and courted by all the Princes of *Europe*; which ſwell'd his Pride and Vanity beyond all Bounds, according to the Generality of Writers, among whom none is ſo ſevere upon him as *Rapin*; notwithſtanding which, Dr. *Fiddes* has ſet the Cardinal's Actions in a very different Light, as has been obſerv'd already, and if the Doctor has been in ſome Inſtances too indulgent to *Wolſey*, he has at the ſame time evidently ſhewn, that other Hiſtorians have been too ſevere upon his Memory.

A.D. 1523
14&15 *H*8
Different Characters of the Cardinal.

Rapin with a great deal of Joy joins in the common Cry againſt this Prelate, as much on account of his being a Churchman, as for any other Reaſon; and where preceding Writers have not furniſh'd him with a ſufficient Fund of Scandal, he does not ſcruple ſometimes to be the original Inventor, and to go greater Lengths in traducing this *great Man*, than any that have gone before him: He affirms, *That he look'd on the King's Subjects as Slaves, and inſpir'd the King with the ſame Principles; and that he taught him to conſider the Parliament only as an Inſtrument to execute his Will*; which he ſeems to infer from the King's levying the Tax in one Year which was to have been paid in four; and this it muſt be acknowledg'd was a very dangerous Precedent; but whether it will juſtify the flagrant Charge he has brought againſt the Cardinal, I leave to the judicious Reader.

Rapin more ſevere upon him than any other Writer.

The next Thing *Rapin* falls upon the Cardinal for, is the procuring the Pope's and the King's Conſent to diſſolve ſome little Monaſteries, in order to erect two Colleges at *Ipſwich* and *Oxford*, for the Advancement of Learning, which *Rapin* would not have found fault with in another; nay he wou'd, (and actually does

Particularly for ſuppreſſing Monaſteries to erect his Colleges.

A.D. 1523 does afterwards) approve the demoliſhing of every Monaſtery in the Kingdom, when it was done by other Hands; but I refer the Reader to Dr. *Fiddes* * again, who applauds the Cardinal's Greatneſs of Soul and generous Views on this Occaſion, with no leſs Zeal than his Enemies traduce his Memory. But to proceed.

14&15 *H*8

The King makes Proviſion againſt the *Scots*.

The *French* King being about to furniſh the Duke of *Albany* with a Body of Troops, to make a Diverſion on the Side of *Scotland* this Year, King *Henry* provided two Fleets, in order to prevent their being tranſported to that Kingdom, and in the mean time ſent an Army under the Command of the Earl of *Surrey* to oppoſe the Excurſions of the *Scots* on the Borders, and influence the Nobility to elect another Regent, or at leaſt to declare the young King of Age, that the Duke of *Albany* might be diveſted of the Adminiſtration of the Government; but the *Scots* not hearkening to theſe Propoſals, the Earl of *Surrey* laid Siege to *Jedworth*, and took it, and afterwards plunder'd the Country. The Duke of *Albany* in the mean time finding that the *Engliſh* Fleet guarded the narrow Seas ſo watchfully that it was impoſſible for him to tranſport the *French* Troops under his Command, diſpers'd them into Quarters, and pretended he had entirely laid aſide his Enterprize for that Year; whereupon the *Engliſh* Fleet return'd into their Harbours; but the Duke of *Albany* aſſembling his Forces again on a ſudden, tranſported them into *Scotland* without Oppoſition: He landed in the Iſland

Jedworth taken by the *Engliſh*.

Duke of *Albany* lands in *Scotland* with 3000 Men.

* Dr. Fiddes's *Life of* Wolſey. *Fol. p.* 304. Coll. *Eccleſ. Hiſt.*

Iſland of *Arran*, with *Richard de la Pole*, the 24th of *September*, his Forces amounting to about three thouſand Men, which gave new Life to his Party; and a Parliament being aſſembled in *October* following, it was reſolv'd to raiſe an Army and return the Viſit the *Engliſh* had lately made them. Accordingly the Duke enter'd the *Engliſh* Pale, and laid Siege to *Werk* Caſtle; but the Beſieged making a brave Defence, and the Earl of *Surrey* marching to their Relief, the Duke thought fit to retire, and put his Army into Winter Quarters, and not long after, by the Mediation of Queen *Margaret*, a Truce was concluded between the two Nations. A.D. 1523 14&15 H8

Attacks the *Engliſh* Borders, but retires.

A Truce concluded.

In the mean time the Reformation made a conſiderable Progreſs in *Germany*, as it began to do in *Switzerland* by the preaching of *Zuinglius*, but wou'd probably have been more general if thoſe two Reformers had not diſagreed about the Euchariſt and the Doctrine of Predeſtination. *Luther* held Conſubſtantiation, from whence his Diſciples were call'd *Ubiquitarians*, whereas *Zuinglius*, and *Calvin* after him, denied the Body of Chriſt to be conſubſtantiated with the Bread and Wine, or indeed to be preſent in that Sacrament. *Luther*'s Diſciples alſo held Free Will, whereas the Diſciples of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* afterwards preach'd up irreverſible Decrees. The late Pope *Adrian* had written a Letter to the Diet of the Empire, that they wou'd endeavour to bring *Luther* and his Followers to Juſtice, for breaking the Peace of the Church, and introducing Hereſies and pernicious Doctrines into it, tho' he confeſs'd at the ſame time that there were ſeveral Matters which call'd for a Reformation, which he intended to undertake in

The Progreſs of the Reformation in *Germany*.

Doctors differ about the Euchariſt, &c.

The Pope endeavours to ſuppreſs *Luther*.

*A.D.*1523 in a regular Way. * Upon this Conceſſion the Diet demanded, that a National Council might be aſſembled in *Germany*, and the Abuſes that were confeſs'd on all hands to be reform'd. *Luther* took Advantage of this, and continu'd to write in defence of his Doctrines, and among other things gave a particular Anſwer to the Book the King of *England* had written againſt him, uſing His Majeſty with a more than ordinary Freedom; which provok'd *Henry* to write to the Princes of *Germany* and the Diet to interpoſe their Authority, and endeavour to ſuppreſs *Luther*; and particularly he advis'd them not to ſuffer the New Teſtament to be publiſh'd in the vulgar Language; not that he was in general againſt a Verſion of the Holy Scriptures, but the preſent corrupt Verſion which was publiſhing by *Luther*: However, it does not appear that the *German* Princes had any great Regard to the King of *England*'s Repreſentations on theſe Heads.

A. 15 *Hen.* 8

The *Germans* inſiſt on calling a National Council.

King *Henry* writes to the Diet to ſuppreſs *Luther*.

Biſhop *Fiſher* writes againſt *Luther*.

Dr. *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, alſo having publiſh'd a Book againſt *Luther* about this Time, the King in his Patent for appropriating that Work to the Author's Benefit, applauds his Deſign in writing in Behalf of the Catholick Church, of which his Majeſty

* *The Reformation ſeems to have made a great Progreſs in* England *at this time, and to be rather favour'd than perſecuted; for it appears that Mr.* Stavord, *or* Stafford, *a Fellow of* Pembroke-Hall *in* Cambridge *read publick Lectures of Divinity there out of the Holy Scriptures: He was Proctor* Anno 1523, *and Biſhop* Latimer *one of his Audience, Mr.* John Thicket, *another eminent Reformer, was Univerſity Preacher,* Anno 1522.

Strype's *Mem. Vol.* I. 48.

Majesty was the avow'd Defender, declaring it to be a great Consolation and Joy to him, that the Cause of the Church and Religion had been undertaken by a Person of so great Abilities as the Bishop of *Rochester*. A.D. 1524 — A 16 Hen. 8

Scotland still remain'd in an unsettled State: The Duke of *Albany* going over to *France* the Beginning of this Year, the young King, who was now between thirteen and fourteen Years of Age, was advis'd by the Queen his Mother and the Earl of *Arran* to declare himself of Age, and take the Government into his own Hands; whereupon the States being assembled, resolv'd that the Regent's Authority was at an end, and that all Affairs of State should be transacted in the King's Name, whereby the Administration fell to the Queen and the Earl of *Arran*, who had the greatest Influence over the young Monarch; but the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle* insinuating that *Arran* was in the *French* Interest, apply'd themselves to the King of *England*, and procur'd the Earl of *Angus*, the Queen's Consort, to be recall'd from Banishment, by whose Assistance they took the young King out of the Queen's Hands, and assum'd the Regency, agreeing to govern each of them four Months by turns. They also sent Ambassadors to King *Henry* to treat of a Marriage between the King of *Scots* and the Princess *Mary*, provided the Contract between the Emperor and that Princess cou'd be dispens'd with; and the Truce between the two Nations was prolong'd to the 25th of *January*, 1525.

Disputes in *Scotland* about the Administration.

The Earl of *Angus* &c. assume the Government.

A Match propos'd between the King of *Scots* and the Princess *Mary*.

But to return to *England*; it appears that this Year Cardinal *Wolsey* procur'd the Pope's Bull for suppressing St. *Frideswede*'s Monastery at *Oxford*, and building a College on the

A Bull for suppressing certain Monasteries to erect the Cardinal's Colleges.

*A.D.*1524 Site of it *, and not only the Revenues of this Monaſtery were applied to the College, but he obtain'd another Bull, dated 11 *Sept.* 1524, whereby he was empower'd to ſuppreſs other Monaſteries to the Value of three thouſand Ducats a Year, and appropriate the Revenues of them to the ſame Uſe. By another Bull, Pope *Clement* ratify'd the Title of DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, which had been conferr'd on the King by the late Pope *Leo* X. and ſoon after with the King's Approbation, the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury* was conferr'd on Cardinal *Campeins*, who had formerly been Legate in *England* †.

*A.*16*Hen.*8

The King ſtil'd *Defender of the Faith.*

Cardinal *Campeins* Biſhop of *Saliſbury.*

In the mean time the *French* having been defeated by the Confederates in *Italy*, and oblig'd to retire over the *Alps*, all the Towns they had poſſeſs'd themſelves of in the *Milaneſe* ſurrender'd to the Imperialiſts; whereupon the Emperor and the King of *England* agreed, that the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould invade *France* on the ſide of *Provence*; *Henry* engaging to pay the Duke an hundred thouſand Crowns a Month, for the Support of his Troops, only after the firſt Month he was to be at Liberty to diſcontinue that Payment, provided he invaded *France* on the ſide of *Picardy*; and the Emperor was to make a Diverſion on the ſide of *Spain*. The Duke of *Bourbon* propos'd to have paſs'd the *Alps* with an Army of forty thouſand Men, but the *Venetians* and *Neopolitans* ſeparating from him,

A Confederacy between the Emperor and *England* againſt *France.*

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* Rymer, *Vol.* XIV. *p.* 15.

† Wolſey's *Authority for viſiting and reforming Religious Houſes alſo was enlarg'd this Year, by a Bull dated* 12 *Kal.* Sept. Rymer, *Vol.* XIV. *p.* 18.

him, it appears that he had not much above twenty thousand Men for this great Enterprize; however, the Duke pass'd the *Alps*, and having taken several small Towns, at length laid Siege to *Marseilles*, at which the *French* King being alarm'd, took the Field in Person, at the Head of forty thousand Men, on whose Approach the Duke of *Bourbon* rais'd the Siege, and repass'd the *Alps* with the utmost Precipitation; and tho' it was now the Month of *October*, *Francis* pursu'd the Duke into *Italy*, and enter'd the *Milanese* almost at the same Instant. The Confederate Generals had only Time to throw a strong Garrison of twelve or fifteen thousand Men into *Pavia*, after which they retir'd to such a Distance as not easily to be overtaken; they abandon'd all the *Milanese*, except the Castle of *Milan* and some other Fortresses, and the *French* immediately took Possession of the City of *Milan*, after which they laid Siege to *Pavia* in the Month of *November*, it not being thought advisable to leave so strong a Place with a numerous Garrison behind them. *Francis* having continu'd the Siege of *Pavia* during the severest part of the Winter Season, lost a great many Men before it, and proposing to make a Conquest of *Naples* and *Genoa* at the same time, had made two great Detachments for that Purpose, whereby his Army was considerably weaken'd; which the Imperial Generals observing, took the Field again and cut off his Convoys; this made Provisions scarce in the *French* Camp, and very much distress'd them; but this was not the worst, the Duke of *Bourbon* having rais'd a thousand Horse and ten thousand Foot in *Germany*, and join'd the Confederate Army

A.D. 1524

A 16 *Hen.* 8

The Duke of *Bourbon* invades *Provence*, and besieges *Marseilles*.

The *French* King obliges him to retire, and invades *Milan*.

The *Milanese* submit to the *French*.

Francis besieges *Pavia*.

*A.D.*1525 — *A* 17 *Hen.*8

in *Italy*, made them ſuperior to their Enemies; whereupon it was determin'd to attack the *French* in their Camp, on the 24th of *February*; but *Francis* having rais'd Batteries for the Security of his Lines, the Confederates were repuls'd, or at leaſt pretended to be ſo; which encourag'd *Francis* to ſally out of his Entrenchments and purſue them. This was what the Imperialiſts waited for, the *French* were no ſooner advanc'd a little way from their Camp, but the Duke of *Bourbon* return'd to the Charge, routed the *French* Army, and took King *Francis* Priſoner, his Horſe happening to fall upon him, and with the King were taken moſt of the Generals and Perſons of Diſtinction in his Army.

The *French* defeated, and their King made Priſoner.

The Emperors Behaviour on this Victory.

The Emperor, who was at this time in *Spain*, receiving Advice of the Victory of *Pavia*, did not ſeem tranſported on his Succeſs. He was pleas'd, he ſaid, that God had given him ſo remarkable a Teſtimony of his Favour, which he had not deſerv'd, and hop'd it would give him an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing Peace in *Europe*. But he would not ſuffer the uſual Expreſſions of publick Joy, declaring that it was not decent for *Chriſtian* Princes to rejoyce at their Victories, unleſs they were obtain'd over Infidels; and immediately offer'd *Francis* his Liberty upon certain Terms; but they were ſuch, according to the *French* Writers, as no brave Prince would accept, and therefore they look upon the Emperor's Moderation and fine Speeches upon this Occaſion, to be affected, and not to contain his real Sentiments. He politickly avoided alarming the reſt of the Powers of *Europe*, being apprehenſive of a general Confederacy againſt him, for the Preſervation of their

their Liberties, which seem'd to be in Danger on this unexpected Success of the Imperialists. *A.D.*1525 *A.*17 *Hen.*8

The Terms the Emperor offer'd *Francis*, were, that he should resign *Burgundy* to him; that he should dismember *Provence* and *Dauphine* from *France*, and erect them into an independant Kingdom for the Duke of *Bourbon*; and lastly, that he should repay the King of *England* all the Money that was due to him. Terms offer'd to *Francis*.

But *Francis* believing that by a personal Conference with the Emperor, he should be able to obtain better Terms, desir'd he might be sent to *Spain*, which the Emperor agreed to; but when *Francis* arriv'd at *Madrid*, tho' he was allow'd the Liberty of the Castle, and to go Abroad or Hunt with a Guard, yet the Emperor refus'd to see him, at which he was so concern'd that he fell sick; he could not bear to find himself slighted as a Person of no Consequence, who a little before imagin'd he had no Superior. He falls sick.

The Emperor understanding that his Prisoner lay dangerously ill, either out of Compassion, or, as the *French* insinuate, for fear of losing him, made *Francis* a Visit, using abundance of tender Expressions, and giving him hopes of Liberty upon very easy Terms. The next Day he made his Prisoner another Visit, which so reviv'd the Spirits of the desponding Monarch, that he recover'd immediately; he also brought the King's Sister, the Dutchess of *Alenson*, to him, and left her with him; after which the Emperor return'd to *Toledo*, where the *Spanish* Court then usually resided. The Emperor visits him.

This Lady travell'd frequently between *Madrid* and *Toledo*, in order to procure her Brother's Liberty, but was not so happy as to effect it; whereupon the King despairing to obtain

his

*A.D.*1525 his Freedom upon any reasonable Terms, sign'd an Instrument which he deliver'd to the Dutchess, authorizing the States of *France* to Crown his Son the Dauphin, as if he was actually dead, and by this means, say the *French* Writers, *Francis* intended to shew the Emperor he had no longer the King of *France* in his Power; but the Parliament of *Paris* would not record the Instrument, looking upon it to be made only to serve a Turn, they did not think an Authority of that nature valid, the King not being at Liberty when he executed it.

*A.*17 *Hen.*8 *Francis* authorizes the States of *France* to Crown his Son.

When the King of *England* receiv'd Advice of the Victory of *Pavia*, and the Captivity of *Francis*, he could not avoid giving some Demonstrations of Joy upon the Occasion, as he was in a Confederacy with the Emperor; he went therefore to St. *Paul*'s and caus'd High Mass to be sung in Memory of the Victory, tho' he was no less alarm'd at the Advantages *Charles* had acquir'd by this Event than the rest of the Powers of *Europe*; nay 'tis generally affirm'd, that the Court of *England* no sooner heard of the *French* King's Misfortune, than they determin'd to change Hands; even *Rapin*, who was no Friend to the *English* Ministry, and at other times looks upon this Conduct as the Result of the Cardinal's Revenge, is pleas'd here to ascribe it *To the King of* England*'s Generosity, who was above taking Advantage of the* French *King's Misfortunes.* In another place, he says, *The Court of* England *enter'd into these Measures to keep the Balance of* Europe *even, which lean'd too much to one side, for this it was that render'd* England *considerable.* In a third Place, he observes, *That* Henry

England takes the part of *France.*

Henry *behav'd with uncommon Generoſity on this Occaſion, tho' he might have demanded Towns, and even Provinces for his Friendſhip, he inſiſted on no more than ſecuring the Sums that were juſtly due to him.* But whatever were the Sentiments of the Court of *England* concerning the Conſequences of the Victory of *Pavia*, it appears that they immediately ſent an Embaſſy to the Emperor *, to repreſent, that as the War was carried on at a common Expence, *England* ought to ſhare the Benefit of their Succeſs, and have a Moiety of the Spoils obtain'd at *Pavia*; that one of King *Henry*'s Inducements for entering into the Confederacy with the Emperor, was to recover the Kingdom of *France*, his rightful Inheritance, and as it was ſtipulated to deliver up the Uſurpers on each others Right, he inſiſted on having the *French* King put into his Hands, that he might treat with him concerning the Reſignation of that Kingdom, or make ſuch other Terms with *Francis* as they could agree upon, and if *Francis* refus'd to give the King of *England* Satisfaction, he inſiſted that the Emperor ſhould join his Forces with King *Henry*'s, in order to ſubdue the Kingdom of *France*, which the Emperor probably would reap the Advantage of, as he was contracted to the Princeſs *Mary*, the King's only Daughter and Heireſs, who ſhould be deliver'd into the Emperor's Hands, on his ſurrendring up *Francis* to the King of *England*.

A.D. 1525

A. 17 Hen. 8

An Embaſſy to the Emperor.

Theſe Propoſitions, it is generally ſuppos'd, were made to the Emperor, not with any Expectation they would be comply'd with,

* Herbert's Compleat Hiſtory, *p.* 65.

*A.D.*1525 — *An.* 17 *Hen.* 8

with, but to render a Breach with him more plausible, on his Refusal to hearken to them, tho' there were other Reasons that would have sufficiently justify'd the *English* in this matter, as the Emperor's treating with the *French* King separately; his entering into a Contract of Marriage with Donna *Isabella*, the Heiress of *Portugal*, when he was already contracted to the Princess *Mary*; his refusing to repay the Money that had been lent him by *England*; and his neglecting to provide his Quota of Men or Money for the War. But notwithstanding the Emperor rejected the Overtures made on the part of *England*, *Henry* did not think fit to come to a Rupture with him suddenly, but sent to his Ambassadors in *Spain*, to intercede for the Liberty of the captive King, and receiv'd an Embassy from *Louisa*, Regent of *France*, to treat of an Alliance between the two Crowns, and at the same time, the *Venetians* and the Princes of *Italy* entering into a Confederacy against the Emperor, invited the King of *England* to come into it.

King *Henry* intercedes for the *French* King's Liberty. He treats with the Regent of *France*.

In this Situation of Affairs, the King apprehending he should soon have Occasion for Money, desir'd the Council to consider of Ways and Means to supply him with it; but as the Cardinal had engag'd the King should never want Aids suitable to his Necessities, while he was at the Head of the Ministry, they chose to refer the matter to the Cardinal, who caus'd Commissions to be issu'd to all the Counties of *England*, for levying the sixth part of the Revenues of the Laity, and a fourth of the Clergy, which was very near occasioning a general Rebellion, it being look'd upon, not only as an Invasion on the

The Cardinal's arbitrary ways of raising Money.

Peoples

Peoples Properties, but ſo exorbitant a Tax that they could not poſſibly raiſe it without their utter Ruin. Whereupon the King thought fit to diſavow the whole Proceeding, and by his Letters, directed to every County of *England*, declar'd he only deſir'd a voluntary Benevolence; whereupon the Cardinal was generally curs'd by the People. However, under the Title of Benevolences, very extraordinary Sums were demanded, eſpecially of the City of *London*, who made their Remonſtrances againſt it, and in the Country there was an Inſurrection, but the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* perſuaded the Malecontents to lay down their Arms; after which ſeveral of them being brought Priſoners to *London*, the matter was debated in Council; the Cardinal affirm'd he had done nothing without adviſing with the Judges, who declar'd the King might lawfully demand any Sum by Commiſſion, and that the Council afterwards concurr'd with him in this Method. The King ſaid, he was inform'd that his Subjects were really richer than he found them to be. And all the Fault was laid upon thoſe who had given the King this Information. Whereupon it was agreed to pardon thoſe who had refus'd the Benevolence, and they were accordingly diſmiſs'd, after they had been firſt call'd before the Star-Chamber and ſeverely reprimanded.

A.D. 1525 — *A* 17 *Hen.* 8

A Benevolence demanded.

Which occaſions an Inſurrection.

The Malecontents pardon'd.

As the attempting to levy Taxes on the People in this arbitrary manner, had render'd the Cardinal hated by the Laity and Secular Clergy, ſo his ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries, and extorting Money from them under Pretence of Reforming them, made him equally odious to the Regular Clergy. Dr. *Allen*, his

*A.D.*1525 *A*17*Hen.*8

Chaplain, was his principal Inſtrument in viſiting the Monaſteries; he rode about, attended by a great Train, ſays the Lord *Herbert* *, from one Religious Houſe to another, in a kind of perpetual Progreſs or Viſitation, which became at laſt ſuch a general Grievance, that the King reprimanded the Cardinal ſharply for it. Whereupon the Cardinal begg'd Pardon, and promis'd not to offend in the like Nature for the future, and his Majeſty was reconcil'd to him on his Submiſſion. Tho' the ſame noble Lord inſinuates, that the Cardinal's making the King a Preſent of the fine Palace of *Hampton-Court*, which he had lately built, and acquainting his Majeſty that he deſign'd to make him his Heir, went a great way in procuring this Reconciliation. And here the Lord *Herbert* preſents us with a Letter written by the King with his own Hand to the Cardinal, wherein he reprehends that Prelate pretty ſharply, takes Notice of the Murmurs of the People, at his ſuppreſſing of Monaſteries to endow his Colleges; and tells him, that this was look'd upon only as a Pretence to cover worſe Deſigns. The King alſo mentions ſome other corrupt Views of the Cardinal's, but aſſures him however, that he ſtill entirely lov'd him; that he had no Spark of Diſpleaſure againſt him in his Heart, but took Liberty friendly to admoniſh him of theſe Failings, that he might reform himſelf, and endeavour to recover the Eſteem of the World.

The Cardinal reprimanded for the Extortions of his Agents.

Abſtract of a Letter from the King to *Wolſey* on his Miſconduct.

The

* Herbert's Compleat Hiſtory, *p.* 65.

A.D.1525
A17Hen.8

The King having had a natural Son by Mrs. *Elizabeth Blunt*, Daughter of Sir *John Blunt*, whom he nam'd *Fitzroy*, now about six Years of Age, made him at this time (*June* 18) Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Lieutenant-General beyond *Trent*, Warden-General of the Borders of *Scotland*, and soon after Admiral of *England*, and according to Bishop *Burnet*, design'd he should have succeeded to the Crown.

The King creates his natural Son Duke of *Richmond*, &c.

In the mean time the Treaty between *Henry* and the Regent of *France* was concluded on the following Terms. 1. A Defensive Alliance was agreed on between *France* and *England*, against all that should invade either of the said Kingdoms. 2. It was agreed, that the Money due from *France* to the King of *England*, amounting to two millions of Gold Crowns (thirty-five Pence *Tournois* each) should be repaid by half yearly Payments, in such manner that the Whole would be paid in twenty Years, for Security whereof, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Vendosm*, and the prime Nobility, with *Paris*, *Lyons*, and the principal Cities of *France*, were to give their Bonds; the Arrears due to the Queen Dowager of *France*, King *Henry*'s Sister, also were secur'd, and the Revenues of her Joynture stipulated to be regularly paid for the future. The *Scots* were to be included in the Peace, if they committed no Hostilities before the following *December*, and the Duke of *Albany* was not to be permitted to return to *Scotland* during the Minority of King *James* V. This Treaty was ratify'd by the Parliaments of *Paris*, *Tholouse*, and *Bourdeaux*, and by the *French*

Defensive Alliance between *England* and *France*. The Terms of it.

*A.D.*1525 *A*17*Hen.*8

King himſelf, the 27th of *December*, 1525. The Arrears due to the Cardinal in lieu of the Biſhoprick of *Tournay*, alſo were ſecur'd to him, together with the further Sum of an hundred thouſand Gold Crowns, agreed to be due to him from *France*. Upon the Concluſion of this Treaty the Emperor recall'd his Ambaſſadors from *England*, and *Henry* recall'd his Miniſters from *Spain*, and ſoon after *Charles* married *Iſabella* Princeſs of *Portugal*.

The Emperor marries the Princeſs of *Portugal*.

Notwithſtanding *Francis* had declar'd he would ſooner die by his own Hands, than ſubmit to alienate any part of his Dominions, yet before the Year came about, it appears, he was ſo weary of his Impriſonment, that he let the Emperor know he was ready to reſign the Province of *Burgundy*; whereupon a Treaty was immediately ſet on foot between his Imperial Majeſty and the captive King, and brought to a Concluſion the 14th of *January*, the Emperor uſing all manner of Expedition to perfect it, after he was acquainted with the Treaty between *France* and *England*, and the Alliance that was form'd againſt him in *Italy*. Nor were theſe all the Inducements he had to clap up a Peace with *Francis*, for the Princes of *Germany* who adher'd to *Luther*, ſeem'd to be endeavouring to render themſelves Independant of theEmpire; while the *Turks* made ſuch Conqueſts in *Hungary* about this time, as threatned *Auſtria*, and his Hereditary Dominions on that ſide. The Emperor indeed was adviſ'd by ſome of his Council to make no Terms with his Priſoner, but either generouſly give him his Liberty, whereby he would probably make a Friend of him, and have

A Treaty between the Emperor and *Francis*.

have an Opportunity of re-eſtabliſhing his Affairs both in *Italy* and *Germany*; or, to retain him till he had ſettled them: For it was foreſeen, that whatever Treaty the Emperor ſhould make with *Francis*, during his Captivity, would hereafter be interpreted to be obtain'd by Compulſion, and for that Reaſon void. But the *French* King, to obviate this Objection, offering to give his two Sons as Hoſtages for ſecuring the Performance of it, and to have it confirm'd by the Regent of *France*, and the Adminiſtration there; the Emperor thought fit to conclude the Treaty with him, the Purport of the principal Articles whereof were; *A.D.*1526 *A.*18 *Hen.*8

That *Francis* ſhould marry the Emperor's Siſter *Leonora*, Queen-Dowager of *Portugal*, with whom he was to receive two hundred thouſand Gold Crowns. Abſtract of the Treaty between the Emperor and *Francis* at *Madrid*.

That he ſhould be ſet at Liberty the 10th of *March* following, and deliver his two Sons Hoſtages at the ſame time.

That he ſhould reſign the Dutchy of *Burgundy* to the Emperor in full Sovereignty.

That the *French* King ſhould no more demand Homage for *Flanders* or *Artois*.

That he ſhould diſclaim all Title to *Naples*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Aſt*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, and *Heſden*.

That he ſhould endeavour to prevail with *Henry de Albret* to reſign *Navarre* to the Emperor, or at leaſt give that Prince no Aſſiſtance.

That he ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* and his Adherents, to their Eſtates and Honours; and *Philibert de Chalons* Prince of *Orange*, and *Antonio de Saluzzo*, to their Principalities.

That

*A.D.*1526 That he ſhould give no Aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Gueldres.*

*A.*18 *Hen.*8 That he ſhould pay 500,000 Crowns to the King of *England*, which the Emperor ow'd him.

And Laſtly, *Francis* promis'd upon the Word and Honour of a Prince, to execute all theſe Articles, or return a Priſoner to *Spain.*

Francis ſwears to obſerve it. The Treaty being concluded, the Archbiſhop of *Ambrun* ſaid Maſs, after which the King coming to the Altar, and laying his Right Hand on the Goſpels, did ſwear by the Sacraments and the Holy Evangeliſts not to break this Capitulation all the Days of his Life, or give Counſel or Favour that any other ſhould break it; but on the Emperor's Part, only ſome of his Miniſters ſwore to the Obſervation of it. Some few Days after the *French* King contracted a Marriage with Queen *Leonora* by Proxy, after which the Emperor treated him no more as a Priſoner but a near Ally; however the Emperor did not think fit to ſuffer the Marriage to be conſummated 'till he ſaw how *Francis* wou'd perform his Part of the Treaty after he was ſet at Liberty.

When *Francis* took his Leave of the Court of *Spain* in order to return to *France*, the Emperor demanded if he remember'd well all that was agreed on between them; to which *Francis* anſwer'd Yes, repeating the moſt important Articles. Then ſaid *Charles*, Are you willing to perform them? *Francis* anſwer'd, Yes, I am, and I know no Man in my Kingdom will hinder me, and *when you find I do not keep my Word with you, I conſent that you eſteem me a Knave and a Villain.* *

On

* Herbert Comp. Hiſt. 74.

On the 16th of *March Francis* was exchang'd for his two Sons (who were to remain Hoſtages in *Spain*) on the Banks of the River *Bidaſſoa*, which parts the two Kingdoms. As ſoon as he enter'd his own Territories he mounted a ſwift Horſe and rode full ſpeed to the next Town (*St. John de Luz*) crying out *I am a King, I am a King*, which ſome have thought not becoming the Majeſty of ſo great a Prince. The next Day arriving at *Bayonne*, he met Ambaſſadors from the King of *England*, who congratulated his Deliverance; but another Deſign of their attending *Francis*, was to get the Treaty ratified that had been made between *England* * and *France*, and to perſuade him to break that he had made with the Emperor at *Madrid*, in both which they ſucceeded; and when *La Noy*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*, who attended *Francis* on his Return as Ambaſſador from the Emperor, deſir'd he wou'd ratify the Treaty of *Madrid*, that Monarch anſwer'd, that having by that Treaty ſtipulated to do more than was in the Power of a King of *France*, particularly in yielding the Dutchy of *Burgundy* to the Emperor, he muſt endeavour to get the Conſent of the *Burgundians* and the reſt of his Subjects, but that he intended however to execute it in due time. But when the Imperial Ambaſſador urg'd him again at *Bourdeaux* to ratify the Treaty of *Madrid*, or return to *Spain*, according to his Oath, the King anſwer'd, 1. That it was not in his Power to reſign *Burgundy*, becauſe the Kings of *France* could not alienate any Part of their Dominions. 2. That he was under a Force when

A.D. 1526 — *A.* 18 *Hen.* 8

The *French* King is exchang'd for his two Sons, the Hoſtages.

Ratifies the Treaty with *England*.

He defers ratifying the Treaty with the Emperor.

He offers ſome Reaſons againſt executing it.

* Strype's Mem. Vol. 1. p. 61.

*A.D.*1526 when he sign'd that Treaty. And, 3. By the Oath he took when he was anointed King, *A* 18 *Hen.* 8 he had sworn never to alienate any Part of his Dominions, which render'd the Oath he had taken at *Madrid* void.

Which are answer'd by the Imperial Ambassador.

To this the Ambassador answer'd, that admitting he cou'd not alienate any of the Provinces of *France*, this did not hinder him from restoring a Province his Ancestors had unjustly acquir'd, as the Dutchy of *Burgundy* had been. 2. That it was in his free Choice whether he wou'd remain a Prisoner or obtain his Liberty by a Treaty which he himself had propos'd, and he could not conceive wherein the Compulsion he complain'd of consisted. 3. That when the King took his Oath at *Madrid* he was not ignorant of the Oath he took at his Accession, and if he then believ'd the second Oath contrary to the first he had grossly impos'd upon the Emperor.

Francis sends an Embassy to *England*.

Soon after *Francis* had recover'd his Liberty, he sent an Embassy to *England*, to communicate to the King the Articles of the *Madrid* Treaty; and in a Letter under his own Hand to Cardinal *Wolsey*, he acknowledg'd that the King and his Eminence had been the principal Instruments of his Enlargement. *

Whether the *French* King is to be justified in refusing to fulfil the *Madrid* Treaty or not, I find both the Court of *England* and all the Powers of *Europe* advis'd him to break it, and the Pope actually absolv'd him from his Oath to observe it; nay, his Holiness soon after enter'd into an Alliance, call'd the *Clementine*

* *D*. Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal* Wolsey, 379, 380, &c.

mentine League, with the *French* King, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, at *Cognac*, againſt the Emperor; of which the Emperor's Ambaſſador at the *French* Court having Notice, once more demanded that *Francis* wou'd execute the Treaty of *Madrid*; whereupon that Prince anſwer'd, that it was not in his Power to reſign *Burgundy*, but he wou'd give the Emperor two Millions of Gold Crowns as an Equivalent for that Dutchy. The Emperor refuſing to make any Alteration in the Treaty of *Madrid*, the Kings of *England* and *France* enter'd into another Treaty, whereby they oblig'd themſelves never to make Peace with the Emperor till he had releas'd the Hoſtages and paid *Henry* all that was due to him; but yet neither of theſe Powers were oblig'd to act offenſively, in order to procure theſe Terms; ſo very cautious was the Cardinal of involving the King in a War with the Emperor, notwithſtanding his Enemies charge him with implacable Malice againſt that Prince, and make his Reſentment the principal Motive of his taking the Part of *France* at this Juncture.

A.D. 1526 — *A* 17 *Hen.* 8

Francis offers two Millions of Crowns in lieu of *Burgundy*.

Another Alliance between *England* and *France*.

But *England* it ſeems had ſtill further Reaſons to be upon her Guard againſt the *Dutch* (the Emperor's Subjects). The *Dutch* had then, as they have now, the Art of turning the Exchange againſt us and draining the Nation of it's Treaſure: They wou'd purchaſe very little of our Merchandize with the Money they ſold their own for here, but carry'd the Coin in Specie out of the Kingdom. The Lord *Herbert* * relates that the *Dutch* adulterated

The *Dutch* turn the Ballance of Trade againſt us.

And draw our Coin out of the Kingdom.

* Herbert *Comp. Hiſt. p.* 78.

A.D. 1526 terated their own Coin and rais'd the Price of
An 17 *Hen* 8 ours, whereby they drew over all our Gold and Silver to that Side of the Water, and would not suffer our Merchants to bring any of it back again that they receiv'd in Payment there for our Manufactures, but oblig'd them to take Bills of Exchange, whereby they were considerable Losers. To prevent our Coin being carried abroad therefore, the Government thought fit to raise the Value of it, and bring it to the same Standard with that of our Neighbours. That noble Historian proceeds to informs us, that the Angel Noble of Gold was then in Weight one Sixth of an Ounce, esteem'd worth six Shillings and eight pence in Silver, which Silver was two Ounces; so that the Proportion of Gold to Silver was twelve to one. Again, an Ounce of Silver or Half Angel pass'd for three Shillings and four pence, and twelve Ounces made just forty Shillings; but King *Henry* by his Proclamation advanc'd both the Value of Gold and Silver a Tenth; the Angel was rais'd to seven Shillings and four Pence, the Rate it pass'd at in the *Low Countries*; consequently an Ounce of Gold was valu'd at forty Shillings, an Ounce of Silver at three Shillings and eight Pence, and a Pound Weight at forty four Shillings, and in *November* following it was rais'd a 44th Part more, by which Means it was observ'd a great deal of Gold Coin was brought back to *England* again.

The Coin rais'd as high here as in *Holland*, to prevent it.

The Proportion that Gold then bore to Silver.

The Emperor calls *Francis* a Knave and a Villain.

The *French* King being uneasy at his Sons remaining Hostages in *Spain*, sent an Ambassador to the Emperor, offering him again two Millions of Crowns in lieu of *Burgundy*; but his Imperial Majesty was so exasperated at his refusing to fulfil the Treaty of *Madrid*, that he bid

bid the Ambaſſador tell his Maſter he was a *Knave and a Villain*, as he muſt acknowledge himſelf, if he had not forgot the laſt Conference they had before he left *Spain*, and challeng'd him to fight. *A.D.1526* *A17 Hen.8*

In the mean time the Pope and *Venetians* endeavour'd to prevail with the King of *England* to enter into the Confederacy with them, offering to make him *Protector of the League*; but he declin'd the Honour, being taught by former Confederacies with the *Italians*, that they expected he ſhould be at the whole Charges of the War. This Backwardneſs of *Henry* was a great Diſappointment to the Pope and *Venetians*, who had actually taken the Field againſt the Imperialiſts, in hopes that the Kings of *England* and *France* wou'd have ſupported them, and made a conſiderable Diverſion in their Favour; and as the Court of *England* ſhew'd no Inclination to the *Italian* War, ſo neither did *Francis* yet make any great Efforts to ſuccour his Allies, tho' he had made them very large Promiſes. King *Henry* refuſes to enter into the Confederacy with the Pope and *Venetians*. *Francis* neglects his Allies.

This Year the memorable Battel of *Mohatz* was fought on the 18th of *Auguſt*, between *Lewis* II. King of *Hungary*, and *Solyman* Emperor of the *Turks*, wherein the Chriſtians not having above forty thouſand Men, and the *Turks* two hundred thouſand, the King of *Hungary* was defeated, and afterwards thrown from his Horſe in paſſing a River and drowned, whereby the greateſt Part of *Hungary* was loſt. But to return to *Italy*. The Battel of *Mohatz* in *Hungary*.

The Emperor after the Battel of *Pavia* looking upon the Pope and *Venetians* to be reduc'd to ſo low a State that they could give him no great Trouble on that Side, at leaſt *A.D.1527* *A19 Hen.8*

A.D.1527. A19Hen.8

while they remain'd unsupported by *France* or *England*, took no care to pay his Troops in the *Milanese*, but left them to provide for themselves as well as they cou'd, by harrassing and plundering the Inhabitants. The Duke of *Bourbon*, the Imperial General, therefore having quite exhausted the *Milanese* by his Exactions on that miserable People, began his March towards *Tuscany* and the Territories of the Pope, in order to subsist his Troops at the Expence of the *Florentines* and his Holiness, while the Viceroy of *Naples* invaded the Pope's Dominions on the South. The Pope being thus reduc'd to great Extremities, begg'd a Truce of the Viceroy of *Naples* for eight Months, which was yielded to, on condition that the Pope shou'd pay the Duke of *Bourbon* sixty thousand Crowns for the Subsistence of his Army; but the Duke refus'd to consent to this Truce, and continu'd his March towards *Rome*, with an Army of twenty five thousand Men; the Troops of *Venice* and of his Holiness not being half that Number, were not able to oppose his March. The Duke came before *Rome* on the 5th of *May*, and tho' he had no Cannon with him for Battery, yet observing one Breach in the Walls that was not well repair'd, he order'd the City to be storm'd on the 12th, and was kill'd by a Musquet Shot in the Attack; but the Prince of *Orange*, who succeeded him in the Command, carried the City however within the Space of two Hours, the Pope and thirteen Cardinals retiring into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, after which the Soldiers continu'd to plunder the Town for seven Days, kill'd above five thousand Men, and committed Abundance of Barbarities, their Officers having very little

The Duke of *Bourbon* invades the Pope's Territories.

He storms *Rome* and is kill'd in the Attack.

The Imperialists plunder the City for 7 Days.

little Command over them, after it was known the Duke of *Bourbon* was dead. *A.D.* 1527

An 19 *Hen.* 8

The Pope having neither Proviſions or Ammunition in the Caſtle, was oblig'd to capitulate the firſt of *June*, by which he ſtipulated to pay the Imperialiſts four hundred thouſand Ducats, 100,000 down, 50,000 within two Days, and 250,000 within two Months, and to deliver up the Caſtles of *St. Angelo*, *Civitta Vecchia*, and ſome other Fortreſſes; and it was agreed, that the Pope and thirteen Cardinals ſhou'd remain Priſoners till the whole was paid. The Plague ſoon after ſweeping away near two thirds of the Imperial Troops, the Remainder were quarter'd in *Rome*, *Milan*, and other great Towns.

The Pope ſurrenders the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*.

The Plague deſtroys great Part of the Imperial Army.

The Kings of *France* and *England* being apprehenſive that the Emperor wou'd make himſelf Maſter of *Italy*, by the Acceſſion whereof he wou'd be able to give Law to the reſt of *Europe*, enter'd at length into a League *offenſive and defenſive*, to prevent it, which was concluded the 30th of *April*, much about the Time that the Duke of *Bourbon* invaded the Pope's Territories. By this Treaty the two Kings agreed to demand the *French* Hoſtages of the Emperor, and offer to pay their Ranſom, as alſo to require the Payment of the Money due to the King of *England* from the Emperor, and if he rejected their Propoſals or refus'd to give an Anſwer within 20 Days, then to declare War againſt him.

An offenſive Alliance between *England* and *France* againſt the Emperor.

It was agreed alſo, that either the *French* King, or his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleans*, ſhou'd marry the Princeſs *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter.

That the Pope and the *Venetians* ſhou'd be included in the League.

That

*A.D.*1527 — *A.*19*Hen*8

Francis agrees to pay an annual Tribute to *England.*

That *Henry* ſhou'd renounce his Right to the Kingdom of *France*, in conſideration whereof *France* ſhou'd pay to the Crown of *England* for ever, the Annual Tribute of fifty thouſand Crowns, and the Value of fifteen thouſand Crowns yearly in Bay Salt; that this Treaty ſhou'd be confirm'd by the States of the reſpective Kingdoms.

The News of the ſtorming *Rome*, and taking the Pope Priſoner, arriving ſoon after, it was further agreed, that the King of *France* ſhou'd immediately rais'd an Army for the Reduction of *Italy*, and the King of *England* ſhou'd contribute 32,222 Crowns *per* Month towards his Expences, to be deducted out of the Money *Francis* ow'd him. This laſt Treaty being ſign'd the 29th of *May*, the *French* King ſent an Army into *Italy* under the Command of General *Lantrecht*, ſo ſoon as he had receiv'd the Emperor's Anſwer, who refus'd to comply with their reſpective Demands. The *French* King, it ſeems, had added to his Demands already mentioned, the Reſtoration of *Francis Sforza* to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and that his Sons ſhould be deliver'd up before he withdrew his Forces out of *Italy*; which were abſolutely rejected by the Emperor, tho' he appear'd ready to comply with all the reſt; whereupon it was thought proper that the Cardinal ſhou'd go over to *France* again, and have a Perſonal Conference with the *French* King on the preſent Poſture of Affairs; and his Eminence being attended by a thouſand Horſe, met *Francis* accordingly at *Abbeville*, where another Treaty * was concluded

* Strype's *Mem. Vol.* I. *p.* 69.

cluded between the two Crowns on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*. A.D. 1527

By this Treaty it was agreed, that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhou'd marry the Princeſs *Mary* when both Parties ſhou'd be of Age, and then the Marriage Articles concerning the Dowry, *&c.* ſhould be ſettled, and whether the Marriage took effect or not, the Friendſhip of the two Princes ſhould not be interrupted. A. 19 *Hen.* 8 Another Treaty between the two Crowns

The future monthly Payments which the King of *England* was to make *Francis* towards the Charges of the *Italian* War were ſettled, which were to ceaſe on the Day there ſhould be a Peace concluded with the Emperor.

The two Kings alſo agreed not to conſent to the Calling a General Council during the Pope's Impriſonment; to receive no Bull, Brief, or Mandate from the Pope 'till he was ſet at Liberty; and laſtly, that 'till the Pope ſhould reſume the Government of the Church, the Cardinal Legate and the Clergy (to be aſſembled by the King's Authority) ſhould determine all Eccleſiaſtical Matters in *England*, as the *Galican* Clergy might in *France*, being aſſembled by the like Authority. *

Upon the Concluſion of this Treaty the *French* King made the Cardinal very rich Preſents;

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* *The Pope alſo conſtituted* Wolſey *his* Vicar-General *in* England, *empowering him to do whatever the Pope himſelf might do (while his Holineſs was under Reſtraint) and all the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions he ſhould make, in Conjunction with the Biſhops, and by the King's Conſent, were to be as binding as if made by the Pope; by Virtue whereof he drew all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes into his Courts, and the Biſhops became his Commiſſaries in their own Dioceſes.*

Stype's *Mem. Vol.* I. 70. Fiddes, 423.

A.D.1527 Presents; and when he return'd to *England*, accompany'd him a Mile out of Town.

A 19 Hen. 8 In the mean time the Pope not being able to raise the Money he had promis'd the Imperialists, still remain'd a Prisoner with his thirteen Cardinals, who sent melancholy Letters to the King of *England* from time to time, desiring he wou'd find Means to rescue them out of the Hands of their Enemies. Whereupon *Henry* dispatch'd Ambassadors to the Emperor, requiring him to set the Pope and Cardinals at Liberty; to which the Emperor answer'd in general Terms, that he had a great Regard to the King of *England*'s Interceſſion, and would give Orders accordingly. And as Cardinal *Wolsey* added to the *English* Litany, during the Pope's Confinement, the following Petition, *viz. Sancta Maria, ora pro Papa, Sancte Petre, &c.* the Emperor caus'd the like Prayers to be put up in his Dominions, tho' his Holiness remain'd long after imprison'd by his own Generals. He would not have his Subjects imagine that he had less Veneration for their common Father than other Christian Princes, tho' he held him a close Prisoner. He gave out probably that the *Lutherans* in the Prince of *Orange*'s Army had put this Restraint upon his Holiness without his Consent. * But instead of releasing his Holiness, 'tis said, he once propos'd to have brought him to *Spain*, that he might obtain the better Terms of him; or perhaps he had Thoughts of obliging future Popes to reside there, as they did once in *France*, whereby he shou'd be able to influence

Henry demands that the Pope be set at Liberty.

The Emperor pretends to be afflicted at the Pope's Imprisonments.

* Herbert *Comp. Hist. p.* 87,

fluence the Councils of the Holy See, as it is evident the *French* did while the Papal Chair was at *Avignon*; but as the Emperor could not expect to compass his Ends while *England* and *France* remain'd united, he made great Efforts about this time to divide them. He propos'd to the Cardinal a Match between the Duke of *Richmond*, *Henry*'s natural Son, and a Princess of *Portugal*, offering to give the Dutchy of *Milan* with her, as her Dowry; and tho' the Cardinal was of Opinion that this Proposal was made only to amuse the *English* Court, he advis'd his Majesty by a Letter of the 30th of *July* not absolutely to reject it, while his *Secret Affair* (the Divorce between *Henry* and Queen *Katherine*) was depending, for he expected all imaginable Opposition in this Matter from the Emperor her Nephew. In another Letter, dated the 31st of *August*, the Cardinal acquaints the King that it was commonly reported in *Spain*, that he intended to divorce Queen *Katharine*, and advis'd him to give Directions to the *English* Ambassador there to stifle this Rumour if possible, and to affirm that it had no other Foundation than an Objection made by the Bishop of *Tarbe* (one of the *French* Ambassadors) to the Princess *Mary*'s Legitimacy, when the Marriage Contract between that Princess and the Duke of *Orleans* was under Consideration, tho' it cannot be deny'd that the Pope was apply'd to for a Divorce by King *Henry* at this very time when his Holiness was a Prisoner in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and the Reason he solicited for it with so much Privacy that it was term'd *the secret Affair*, was, lest the Emperor, who then had the Pope in his Power, should oblige

A.D. 1527
A. 19 *Hen.* 8

The Emperor endeavours to sow Divisions between the Courts of *England* and *France*.

Henry sues for a Divorce from Queen *Katherine*.

*A.D.*1527 his Holineſs to reject the Suit. But I ſhal
*An.*19*Hen.*8 proceed to give a further Account of the Divorce after I have diſpatch'd ſome other Occurrences of the preſent Year.

Wolſey refuſes the Emperor's Preſents, *&c.*

The Emperor it ſeems us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to bring *Wolſey* over to his Party at this time, making him very large Offers to purchaſe his Friendſhip; but he ſhew'd himſelf (for once, ſay ſome Writers) to be above Temptation. Whether he was already too far engag'd with *France*, or whether his Revenge for the Diſappointments he had receiv'd from the Emperor inſpir'd him with this Reſolution, or what other Reaſon he might have for continuing firm to *Francis* is uncertain, for they will not allow that he had any Regard to Right or Juſtice, or to the Intereſt of his King or Country, in this or any other Part of his Conduct, which ſeems to be a little too ſevere upon the Cardinal, for, as Dr. *Fiddes* obſerves, *where his Conduct may be accounted for upon ſeveral good and wiſe Reaſons of State, it is not only ungenerous, but a high Act of Injuſtice to ſearch for Cauſes to his Diſadvantage, which do not appear, and for which he has given no Manner of Occaſion.*

The *French* and *Venetians* take ſeveral Towns in the *Milaneſe*

To return to *Italy*. *Lantrec* the *French* General having paſs'd the *Alps* in *July*, concluded a new Alliance with the *Venetians*, whereby they agreed to bring ten thouſand Men into the Field, and raiſe ten thouſand *Swiſs* at the common Charge, which, join'd to the Troops *Lantrec* brought with him, form'd a conſiderble Army, with which he retook *Vigevano*, *Alexandria*, *Pavia*, and other Places in the *Milaneſe*, while *Andrew Doria*, who commanded the *French* Gallies, reduc'd the City of *Genoa* under the Dominion of *Francis*.

Doria ſurprizes *Genoa* for *Francis*.

Lantrec

Lantrec was urg'd by *Sforza* and the *Venetians* to lay ſiege to *Milan*, the Capital City; but he produc'd his Maſter's Orders, whereby he was commanded to endeavour the Reduction of *Naples*, the Imperialiſts having been ſo weaken'd by the Plague and other Caſualties, that they were in no Condition to oppoſe the Confederates. In the mean time the Emperor finding that the *Engliſh* and *French* were not to be ſeparated, and that the Confederate Army in *Italy* was ſuperior to his own, and actually on the March towards *Naples*, order'd the Viceroy of that Kingdom to enter into a Treaty with his Holineſs, which was accordingly ſet on Foot, and the following Articles at length agreed on *(viz.)* That the Pope ſhould not oppoſe the Imperialiſts either in *Naples* or *Milan* 2. That he ſhould grant the Emperor a Cruſado in *Spain*, and a Tenth in the Reſt of his Dominions. 3. That the Emperor ſhou'd retain the Poſſeſſion of *Civita Vechia*, *Oſtia* and *Cita Caſtellana*. 4. That the Pope ſhould pay down 67,000 Crowns to the *Germans*, and 33,000 to the *Spaniards*. 5. He was alſo to pay a further Sum at the End of two Months, and within three Months he was to pay the Emperor 350,000 more. And, 6. He was to remain a Priſoner till the two firſt Payments were made.

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Treaty between the Emperor and the Pope.

After the Treaty was ſign'd, two Cardinals were given as Hoſtages for the Performance of it, and the Pope was to have been remov'd from the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* to ſome other Place on the 10th of *December*, where he was to remain till the ſecond Payment was over; but his Holineſs finding he could not poſſibly raiſe the Money he had promis'd, and that he

*A.D.*1527 was like to remain a Priſoner therefore a great while longer, made his Eſcape the Night before he was to have been carried from the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and fled to *Orvieto*, a ſtrong Town belonging to his Holineſs, about forty Miles to the Northward of *Rome*; from whence he ſent to *Lantrec*, the *French* General, letting him know, that he was in a great Meaſure indebted to him for his Liberty, but that he had been forc'd to ſign a Treaty with the Imperialiſts, which he never intended to keep.

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The Pope eſcapes to *Orvieto.*

I proceed now to treat of that memorable Proceſs which King *Henry* VIII. commenc'd this Year, to be divorc'd from his Queen, (*Katherine* of *Spain*); and it appears, that this Princeſs was firſt married to his eldeſt Brother Prince *Arthur*, in St. *Paul*'s Cathedral, on the 14th of *November*, 1501, Prince *Arthur* being then fifteen Years of Age and ſeven Weeks over-*; the Princeſs was about a Year older, being born the latter end of the Year 1485. Hiſtorians are the more exact in aſcertaining the Age of the reſpective Parties, becauſe great Streſs ſeems to be laid on that Circumſtance, in the Controverſy that follow'd, concerning the Lawfulneſs of *Henry*'s marrying his Brother's Widow.

The Grounds of the Divorce.

The Ages of Prince *Arthur* and the Infanta.

Soon after the Marriage was ſuppos'd to be conſummated, between Prince *Arthur* and the then Princeſs *Katherine* the Infanta, the *Spaniſh*

* *Prince* Arthur *was born on the* 20*th of* September, 1486. Herbert's Compleat Hiſtory, 113. *The Reader will pleaſe to correct a Miſtake I was led into, by Biſhop* Burnet's *affirming that Prince* Arthur *was ſixteen Years of Age, whereas he was in reality but fifteen and about ſeven Months, when he died.* Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, *Vol.* I. *p.* 35.

Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſent over to *Spain*, the Wedding Sheets, and ſuch other Teſtimonies of the Conſummation, as were then thought ſufficient Evidence of the Bride's having loſt her Virginity, and the Prince and Princeſs continu'd to lie in the ſame Bed upwards of four Months afterwards, when the Prince fell ſick, and died on the 2d of *April*, 1502, his Death being aſcrib'd by ſome to his too eager Purſuit of Nuptial Joys at ſo green an Age. *A.D.*1527 *A.*19*Hen.*8 Evidence of the Conſummation

It being uncertain whether the Princeſs was with Child or not, *Henry* was not created Prince of *Wales*, according to Lord *Herbert*, till the *February* after his Brother the Prince died, being about ten Months, and tho' there are Letters Patent in *Rymer*, bearing Date the 22d of *June*, 1502, wherein *Henry* is ſtil'd *Prince of Wales*, yet this being only by way of recital, it is conjectur'd he is ſtil'd Prince of *Wales* there by Courteſy only, being uſually call'd ſo, otherwiſe the Creation of Prince *Henry* ſo ſoon after his Brother's Death as the Month of *June*, would induce us to believe the Princeſs was not then thought to be with Child by *Arthur*. *Henry* VII. would never have created his youngeſt Son Prince of *Wales*, within two Months after the Death of *Arthur*, if there had been any Expectation of Iſſue of the former Marriage.

But to proceed. The King having receiv'd two hundred thouſand Ducats, as the Marriage Portion of the Infanta, and being oblig'd either to return that, or ſuffer her to enjoy a third part of the Principality of *Wales*, and of the Dukedom of *Cornwall* and Earldom of *Cheſter*, which were ſettled on her as her Jointure during Life, was in great *Henry* 7th's Reaſons for marrying the Infanta to his Son *Henry*.

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great Perplexity, for tho' he was the richeſt King that ever ſat on the Throne of *England*, ſo was he the moſt covetous; Money came from him like ſo many Drops of his Blood; he could never think therefore, of refunding the Portion, and to ſuffer her to enjoy her Thirds in the Principality of *Wales*, which was to ſupport the Dignity of his ſurviving Son, was no leſs Inconvenient. In order therefore to avoid both, he propos'd the marrying his Son *Henry* to his Brother's Widow, but firſt demanded the Opinion of ſome Biſhops and learned Men concerning the Lawfulneſs of it; whereupon Archbiſhop *Warham* declar'd, he did not think ſuch a Marriage either Lawful or Honourable. *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Majority, were of another Mind, and held that the Pope's Diſpenſation was ſufficient in this Caſe to ſilence all Diſputes. And a Bull * being obtain'd accordingly from Pope *Julius* II. dated in *January*, 1503, the Courts of *England* and *Spain* ſeem'd ſo well ſatisfy'd with it, that the Prince and Princeſs were married ſoon after, the Prince being then within the Age of Conſent. He was no ſooner arriv'd at the Age of fourteen however, but he found his Father had alter'd his Mind, for he commanded him to make a ſolemn Proteſt, before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and a Publick Notary, that he retreated and annull'd the ſaid Marriage, and would not confirm it. Which

The Biſhops divided as to the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

Prince *Henry* proteſts againſt the Marriage.

* *This Bull recites, that Prince* Arthur *and the Princeſs* Katherine *had contracted Matrimony, in Words of preſent Time; that the Marriage had been duely ſolemniz'd, (and* perhaps *conſummated) notwithſtanding which, the Pope grants a Diſpenſation to Prince* Henry, *the Brother of* Arthur, *to marry that Princeſs*, &c. Herbert's Compleat Hiſt. 109.

Which the young Prince, in Obedience to his Father, perform'd; but it was done with all imaginable Privacy, leſt the Court of *Spain* ſhould take Umbrage at it. *Henry* VII. afterwards on his Death-Bed, commanded his Son never to confirm that Marriage: But whether *Henry* VIII. was biaſs'd by the Advice of his Council or his own Inclination, it appears that he ſolemniz'd his Marriage with the Princeſs *Katherine*, on the 3d of *June*, 1509, within ſix Weeks after his Father's Death. He had two Sons by her, who died ſoon after they were born, and a Daughter, born the 19th of *February*, 1516, nam'd *Mary*, who ſurviv'd him, and was afterwards Queen of *England*. The King having no Hopes of any more Children by Queen *Katherine*, created the Lady *Mary* Princeſs of *Wales*, and ſhe was contracted, firſt to the Dauphin of *France*, *Anno* 1518, and upon a Miſunderſtanding between the two Crowns, ſhe was afterwards perſonally contracted to the Emperor *Charles* V. at *Windſor*, on the 22d of *June*, 1522. The Emperor breaking with *England* about the Year 1526, pretended the States of *Spain* made Objections to the Legitamacy of the Princeſs *Mary*, and adviſ'd him to marry a Princeſs, by whom he might expect Iſſue in a little time, and thereupon, without making any Apology to King *Henry* for deſerting his Daughter *Mary*, he married *Iſabella*, Princeſs of *Portugal*. A Treaty of Marriage was ſet on Foot the following Year, 1527, between *Francis* King of *France* and the Princeſs *Mary*; but the Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King's ſecond Son, being thought a more ſuitable Match for the Princeſs, on account of his Age, it was agreed by

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But ſolemnizes it afterwards.

And has Iſſue.

Objections made to the Princeſs *Mary*'s Legitimacy by Foreigners.

*A.D.*1527 *A.*19*Hen.*8 by both Courts, that their reſpective Plenipotentiaries ſhould proceed to ſettle Articles of Marriage between them. In the Courſe of which Treaty, the Biſhop of *Tarbe*, one of the *French* Ambaſſadors, objected alſo againſt the Princeſs *Mary*'s Legitimacy, as ſhe was Iſſue of a Marriage contracted againſt the Divine Law, with which, he inſiſted, the Pope nor any other Power on Earth could diſpence. It is ſuggeſted indeed by ſome, that *Wolſey* firſt put theſe Scruples into the King's Head, and that his Majeſty and *Wolſey* practis'd with the Biſhop of *Tarbe* to make this Objection, to give the King the better Colour to ſue for a Divorce from Queen *Katherine*; but I don't find the leaſt Shadow of Proof for this Surmiſe, and if we may believe the King's moſt ſolemn Proteſtations, or the Cardinals, the latter was ſo far from encouraging the King to ſue for a Divorce, that he did all that lay in his Power to prevent it; nay, the King declar'd, that he had abſtain'd from the Queen's Bed three Years before the Biſhop of *Tarbe* objected to the Legitimacy of the Princeſs, on account of the Scruples he had entertain'd in relation to his Marriage with her Mother, tho' he did not think fit to divulge them, till the Biſhop objected to his Daughter's Legitimacy. But however that was, it is agreed on all Hands, that the firſt Attempts the King made towards procuring a Divorce at the Court of *Rome*, was about *July*, 1527, when Pope *Clement* VII. was a Priſoner to the Imperialiſts in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; and it is as certain, that a very little afterwards the celebrated *Anne* of *Bolein* was introduc'd into Queen *Katherine*'s Family, and made one of

The Suit commenc'd.

of her Maids of Honour. Malicious People indeed have ſuggeſted, that the King's Paſſion for this Lady firſt inſpir'd him with Thoughts of divorcing his Queen; but upon the ſtricteſt Examination, it is very evident, that Mrs. *Bolein* was not in the *Engliſh* Court, or indeed come to *England*, when the Reſolution was taken of applying to *Rome* for a Divorce, nor till Dr. *Knight* was actually diſpatch'd thither upon that Errand; and when ſhe did come over, ſhe was ſo far from thinking of the Honour the King afterwards deſign'd her, that ſhe enter'd into a Treaty of Marriage with the Lord *Henry Percy*, the Earl of *Northumberland*'s eldeſt Son, which was very near brought to a Concluſion, when the King ſo dealt with the Earl, that he oblig'd his Son to deſiſt from his Pretenſions, and give place to his Sovereign. And here it may not be amiſs to give ſome Account of the Family of this Lady, who thus captivated the Heart of a great King, and is ſuppos'd by ſome, to have been ſo inſtrumental in the Alteration of Religion in *England*; and it appears that ſhe was the Daughter * of Sir *Thomas Bolein* and *Elizabeth* his Wife, one of the Daughters of *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surry*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*. Her Father Sir *Thomas*, was employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies by *Henry* VIII. particularly to *France*, in the Years 1515 and 1527. He was created Viſcount *Rochford*, *Anno* 1525, and afterwards Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*; his Mother being one of the Daughters and Heirs of the then late Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*.

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Mrs. *Bolein* appears at Court.

Her Family.

* *See* Cambden's Introduction to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

*A.D.*1527 *Ormond.* Mrs. *Anne Bolein* was born in the Year 1507, and became the Delight and Ornament of the *Engliſh* Court, before ſhe was ſeven Years of Age. The Princeſs *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Siſter, was ſo fond of her, that ſhe took her over into *France*, when ſhe went thither to ſolemnize her Marriage with *Lewis* XII. and that King dying a few Months afterwards, the Queen Dowager was prevail'd on when ſhe return'd to *England*, to leave Mrs. *Bolein* with *Claude*, the ſucceeding Queen of *France*, who was ſo taken with her ſprightly and engaging Behaviour, that ſhe retain'd her in her Family till the Day of her Death, which happen'd in the Year 1524. Mrs. *Bolein* afterwards liv'd with the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon*, the *French* King's Siſter, till the Year 1527, when her Father returning from his Embaſſy to the Court of *France*, brought his Daughter with him to *England*, and Queen *Katherine* was pleas'd to entertain her as one of her Maids of Honour. Poſſibly ſhe might have been in *England* ſeveral times before, by way of Viſit to her Relations; but her uſual Reſidence, from ſeven Years of Age till twenty, appears to have been on the other ſide of the Water, and it cannot be ſuppos'd, that the King diſcover'd any Affection for her before the Year 1527, for if he had, the Queen would never have retain'd the Lady in her Service, eſpecially if ſhe had deſerv'd the Character that *Sanders*, and other Enemies of the Reformation, beſtow upon her; (but thoſe Calumnies ſufficiently refute themſelves, being repleniſh'd with Contradictions, of which I ſhall take Notice hereafter:) nor can it be imagin'd that the King would have ſuffer'd

A 19 *Hen.* 8 Her Birth and Education.

suffer'd Mrs. *Bolein* to reside in *France*, if his Love had been of an earlier Date. *A.D.*1527 *A*19*Hen.*8

Having premis'd thus much, I shall go on and enquire further into the Motives of the King's endeavouring to obtain a Divorce, and there is no Doubt but the Objections made by the Courts of *France* and *Spain* to the Legitimacy of the Princess *Mary*, had their Weight with his Majesty, and must give him some Uneasiness; for she was Heir apparent to his Dominions, and a Dispute about her Legitimacy might probably throw the Nation into a Civil War again, not less fatal than that between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster:* It is not improbable also, that he had some Scruples in point of Conscience, to which his reading of *Thomas Aquinas*, whom he mightily admir'd, contributed; for that Schoolman held, that the Laws in *Leviticus*, prohibiting Persons to marry within certain Degrees, were of Moral Obligation, and therefore not to be dispens'd with by the Pope, or any Power on Earth. This occasion'd the King to consider the untimely Death of his two Sons, as an Effect of the Divine Vengeance, for having married his Brother's Widow. The Occasion of the King's Scruples concerning his Marriage.

In this Perplexity the King having open'd his Mind to the Cardinal, and requir'd his Advice, about the latter end of the Year 1526, or the beginning of 1527, his Eminence desir'd to be excus'd giving his Opinion in so weighty a matter, and propos'd the consulting the ablest Divines and Canon Lawyers for his Majesty's Satisfaction; and according to *Cavendish*, who wrote the Life of Cardinal *Wolsey*, and was one of his Domesticks, the Cardinal thereupon summon'd He demands the Advice of the Learned.

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the Biſhops and ſeveral learned Men from both Univerſities, who debated the Matter from Day to Day, but met with ſo many Difficulties, that they came to no Reſolution; whereupon they adviſ'd his Majeſty to ſend Commiſſioners to all the Univerſities in Chriſtendom, and demand their ſeveral Opinions, under their reſpective Seals; which was done ſome time afterwards; but his Majeſty contented himſelf for the preſent, with the Opinions of his own Biſhops, who all of them, except *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, ſet their Hands and Seals to an Inſtrument, whereby they condemn'd the King's Marriage, as contrary to the Law of God; and ſome Foreigners he conſulted were of the ſame Opinion *.

The Biſhops declare the King's Marriage unlawful.

Upon this Foundation it was, that the King reſolv'd to apply to Pope *Clement* VII. to get his Marriage declar'd void, and accordingly Dr. *Knight*, Secretary of State, was ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome* to negotiate the Matter, in *July*, 1527; he was directed to obſerve to his Holineſs, that the Bull of Pope *Julius* II. which gave the King a Diſpenſation to marry his Brother's Wife, was obtain'd upon falſe Suggeſtions, particularly, that it was founded upon the Petition of *Henry* and *Katherine*, which ſet forth, that their Marriage was neceſſary to preſerve the Peace between *England* and *Spain*, whereas in Truth, *Henry* was then but twelve Years of Age, and could not be ſuppos'd to be mov'd by any ſuch Conſideration; and in reality, there was no Neceſſity of this Marriage at that time to maintain Peace between the two Crowns,

Dr. *Knight* ſent to *Rome* to procure a Divorce. His Inſtructions.

* Dr. Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey, *Fol. p.* 434.

Crowns, there being already a very good Underſtanding between: Beſides, *Henry* had proteſted ſolemnly againſt the Marriage, and thereby render'd the Diſpenſation of no Force. But *Knight* was inſtructed, *not to inſiſt on the Diſpenſation's being contrary to the Law of God*, becauſe this had been to queſtion the Power of the Pope, whoſe Diſpenſations, till that time had ever been acquieſc'd in, in Caſes of this Nature, and it could not be ſuppos'd he would conſent to leſſen the Prerogatives of the Holy See; but he was to endeavour, upon the above-mention'd Suggeſtions, to obtain of the Pope four Inſtruments *, *viz.* *A.D.*1527 *A*19*Hen.*8

1. A Commiſſion directed to *Wolſey*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Biſhops, to hear and determine the Caſe. Acts requir'd of the Pope.

2. A Decretal Bull, declaring the King's Marriage with his Brother's Widow void.

3. A Diſpenſation for the King to marry again. And,

4. A Policitation, or Promiſe, not to repeal any of the above-mention'd Acts.

When *Knight* arriv'd at *Rome*, he found his Holineſs a Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and ſo ſtrictly guarded by the Imperial Troops, that it was impoſſible to gain Acceſs to him; whereupon he drew up an Abſtract, containing the Subſtance of his Commiſſion, and by bribing ſome of his Guards, procur'd it to be convey'd to his Holineſs, and by the like means obtain'd an Anſwer from the Pope, wherein he intimated, that he was ready to comply with the King in all his Deſires on this Head. Of which *Knight* ſending Advice to *England*, further Inſtructions He promiſes to comply with the King.

* Strype's Memorials, *p.* 89.

*A.D.*1527 *A.*19 *Hen.*8 Instructions were drawn up, dated 5 *December*, 1527, for him and Sir *Gregory Cassali*, (an *Italian*) the King's Ordinary Ambassador at *Rome*; and a Letter was sent by *Wolsey* to Sir *Gregory Cassali* at the same time, wherein he directs the Ambassador, in his (the Cardinal's) Name, to entreat his Holiness, *As he esteem'd him a Christian, a good Cardinal, worthy of that sacred College, and no useless and unprofitable Member of the Apostolick See; as he look'd upon him to be a Lover of Right and Justice, his faithful Creature, and in a Word, one that desir'd eternal Salvation, that he would at this time have respect unto his Council and Intercession, and favourably grant the King his most godly Requests, which, had he not known to be right, holy, and just, he would rather, he said, have undergone all kind of Punishment than have promoted them; nay, that he would pawn his very Life and Soul for them* *.

The Pope having made his Escape out of the Hands of the Imperialists to the Town of *Orvieto*, before the *English* Ambassadors receiv'd these Instructions, they waited on his Holiness there, in *March* 1528, and press'd him to execute the four Instruments already mention'd; but as the Imperialists were still in *Italy*, and threatned the Pope with their Resentments, if he proceeded in the matter of the Divorce; his Holiness put off the matter from time to time; and tho' the Ambassadors by their Importunity, at length obtain'd a Promise of him to execute the said Acts, they could never prevail on him to sign them all; however, he did give them a Commission

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, *p.* 53. Strype's Memorials, *Vol.* I. *p.* 88.

miſſion to Cardinal *Wolſey* to try the Cauſe, and the Bull of Diſpenſation, in caſe the Marriage was adjudg'd void; but even theſe were dated while his Holineſs was Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and he knew would be deem'd void on that Account; nor did the *Engliſh* Court think fit, on that Conſideration, to make any Uſe of them; and indeed his Holineſs never deſign'd they ſhould, for he was actually engag'd in a Treaty with the Emperor at this time, (as appear'd afterwards) and had promis'd never to do any thing in the Divorce, without communicating it to the Emperor; tho' he thought fit to keep both Parties in Suſpenſe, till he ſaw what Succeſs the *French* were like to have in *Italy*. *A.D.* 1528 / *A.* 20 *Hen.* 8

The Pope's Inſincerity

In the mean time the Courts of *England* and *France*, diſpatch'd their reſpective Heralds to *Spain*, and ſolemnly declar'd War againſt the Emperor. His Imperial Majeſty in his anſwer to the *Engliſh* Herald, obſerv'd, that the King his Maſter had not dealt honourably by him, in offering him his Daughter in Marriage, whom he was at that Inſtant endeavouring to prove illegitimate; but ſuppos'd the King had been put upon it by Cardinal *Wolſey*, who imagin'd he was injur'd, becauſe the Emperor had refus'd to employ his Arms to advance him to the Papacy. In his Anſwer to the *French* Herald, *Charles* reproach'd his Maſter with having falſify'd his Word and Oath, by neglecting to fulfil the Treaty of *Madrid*, and reflected on that Prince's Honour, for not accepting the Challenge he had ſent him by the Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to decide their Quarrel by ſingle Combat; but the *French* Hiſtorians

England and *France* declare War againſt the Emperor.

*A.D.*1528 rians ſuggeſt, that the Archbiſhop had not acquainted his Maſter with the Challenge; which is not unlikely, for no one ever queſtion'd the Bravery of King *Francis*; and he was no ſooner acquainted with the Challenge by the Herald, but he ſent the ſame Herald again to the Emperor, and charg'd him to tell that Prince, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, *that he ly'd in his Throat*, requiring him to *aſſure him the Field*, and he wou'd fight him Hand to Hand. The Emperor thereupon ſent his Reply by a Herald of his own, whom he charg'd at his Audience to reproach King *Francis* with Breach of Faith, to proclaim him a Villain, and ſay ſome other ſhocking Things; which *Francis* being aware of, would not ſuffer the Herald to deliver his Meſſage, interrupting him from time to time, and telling him he had nothing to do but bring him *the Security of the Field*; whereupon the Challenge between theſe two great Princes was drop'd, and came to nothing.

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The Emperor and *French* King challenge each other.

The Trade between *England* and the Emperor's Subjects in the *Low Countries* being interrupted on the aboveſaid Declaration of War, and the Merchants ſuffering by the Seizure of their Effects, the People began to murmur againſt the Cardinal for coming to a Rupture with the *Flemmings*, without giving them any Notice to withdraw their Effects; whereupon the Cardinal deny'd he had given the Herald Orders to declare War: But upon the Return of *Clarencieux*, he produc'd ſufficient Evidence of the Cardinal's Orders before the King and Council, and the Cardinal was ſeverely reprimanded by the King for his Prevarication: His Majeſty however was content to accept the Cardinal's Excuſes

The Cardinal denies the Order he had given to declare War, and incurs the King's Diſpleaſure

cuſes for this Conduct, and the *Flemmings* ſending over an Embaſſy ſoon after to propoſe a Treaty of Commerce and a Truce between their Country and *England*, it was agreed to by the Cardinal, notwithſtanding the War with his Imperial Majeſty in other Places; whereupon the Trade with the *Low Countries* was reviv'd, the Peoples Clamours were ſilenc'd, and the Cardinal was reſtor'd to full Favour again at Court.

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A Truce agreed on with the *Flemmings*.

The Cardinal in full Favour again.

Soon after the Kings of *England* and *France* had declar'd War againſt the Emperor by their Heralds, *Lautrec* the *French* General in *Italy* invaded *Naples* with the Confederate Army, which was paid great Part of it by the King of *England*, tho' compos'd chiefly of the Troops of *France* and *Switzerland*. I don't find there were more than two hundred *Engliſh* in this Army, and theſe were commanded by Sir *Robert Jerningham*, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to *Henry* VIII. The Imperialiſts, upon the March of the Confederate Army to *Naples*, abandon'd *Rome*, in order to cover that Country; but being very much inferior to *Lautrec* in Point of Numbers, choſe to be upon the Defenſive, and when *Lautrec* offer'd them Battel, retir'd, and threw moſt of their Troops into the City of *Naples*; whereupon the *French* laid ſiege to that Capital in the Beginning of *May* with thirty thouſand Men. The Town was block'd up at the ſame time by Sea by *Andrew Doria* and *Philip* his Nephew, who commanded the *French* and *Genoeſe* Gallies, and theſe were join'd not long after by the *Venetian* Fleet; but there happening a Miſunderſtanding between the two *Dorias* and the *French* General, the two *Dorias* went over to the Emperor; the *Venetians* alſo

The Confederate Army invades *Naples*.

The City of *Naples* beſieg'd.

A.D.1528 retir'd from before the Town, to furnish themselves with Provisions, which gave the Imperialists an Opportunity of supplying the Besieg'd with all Necessaries, while both Plague and Famine rag'd with that Violence in the Confederate Army, that they lost two Thirds of their Troops, and amongst the rest *Lautrec* the General; Sir *Robert Jerningham* also dy'd of the Plague, and most of the *English* he commanded; whereupon the Marquis of *Saluzzo* took upon him the Command of the Remainder of the Army, and endeavour'd to make good his Retreat to *Milan*, but was overtaken and besieg'd in the Town of *Aversa*, and oblig'd to surrender himself and his Troops Prisoners of War to the Imperialists. *Andrew Doria* at the same time surpriz'd *Genoa* with the Fleet under his Command, and expell'd the *French*, restoring thereby his Native Country to its ancient Liberties, which it seems was one of the Conditions on which he join'd the Emperor's Fleet; and the *Dorias* are at this Day in the greatest Esteem of any Family in *Genoa*, on Account of this generous Action of their great Ancestor *Andrew Doria*.

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The Confederate Army destroy'd by Plague and Famine.

Genoa revolts from *France*, and recovers its Liberty.

The Confederate Army being ruin'd in *Italy* and the Imperialists triumphant, the Pope shew'd still less Inclination to comply with the King of *England* in the Matter of the Divorce, and as the Bulls already granted to try the Cause were esteem'd null from their being dated during the Pope's Imprisonment, so were they look'd upon also to be defective on account of the Restrictions contained in them; for the Pope had granted them conditionally only, *as that they were not contrary to any Prohibitions of the Divine Law, or other Constitutions, &c.* nor was there any Clause in the

the Decretal Bull which reſtrain'd his Holineſs from revoking it; whereupon the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors were order'd to preſs the Pope to favour the King with other Bulls that were leſs liable to Exception. The Pope anſwer'd, that he wou'd adviſe the King rather to proceed and get his Marrriage adjudg'd void by Virtue of the Commiſſion already granted to *Wolſey* as privately as poſſible, and then marry again; for he might with leſs Difficulty get ſuch a Marriage confirm'd, than obtain a Permiſſion to ſolemnize it; but even this the Ambaſſadors were to repreſent to their Maſter as the Advice of ſome of the Pope's Miniſters, and not as coming from his Holineſs. But as King *Henry* did not approve of this Expedient, his Agents were ſtill order'd to preſs for freſh Inſtruments, and *Stephen Gardiner*, *Wolſey*'s Secretary, and *Edward Fox*, the King's Almoner, were diſpatch'd to *Rome* to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors already there in promoting the King's Suit. Beſides the former Inſtructions already mentioned, they were to deſire a Clauſe might be inſerted in the Bull for trying the Cauſe, to declare the Princeſs *Mary* Legitimate, notwithſtanding her Mother's Marriage ſhould be declar'd void: They were to aſſure the Pope that the Cardinal had not adviſ'd the Divorce, becauſe in that Caſe it would not have been proper to have conſtituted him Judge of it; and they were to let the Pope underſtand the Quality and Merit of the Lady the King was about to eſpouſe, (Mrs. *Anne Bolein*) and to refute ſuch Calumnies as had been rais'd by the Imperialiſts to her Diſadvantage.

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King *Henry* deſires other Bulls from the Pope, for the Trial of the Validity of his Marriage.

But I ſhould have taken Notice, that while the Confederates were ſuperior to the Imperialiſts

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alists in *Italy*, and marching to the Siege of *Naples*, the Pope shew'd so much Regard to the Instances of the Kings of *England* and *France*, that his Holiness sign'd a Bull dated the 23d of *April*, 1528, whereby he appointed the Cardinal and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (or any other *English* Bishop) Judges of the Cause; but in this Commission there was no Clause inserted neither, to restrain the Pope from revoking it, which made it as liable to Exception as the former; and then, as he had referr'd the Case only to the Cardinal, and another *English* Bishop, who were both of them the King's Subjects, he very well knew their Sentence wou'd be deem'd void on account of their suppos'd Partiality; whereupon the Pope was desir'd to appoint another Legate to hear the Cause jointly with the *English* Cardinal, and to give a Promise in Writing not to revoke the Commission; and as there was a Probability at this time that the Confederates wou'd have reduc'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, and consequently his Holiness wou'd have been in the Power of the Kings of *France* and *England*, he shew'd himself so very condescending, that he granted another Bull, dated at *Orvietto* the 6th of *June*, whereby he appointed the Cardinals *Wolsey* and *Campegio* his Legates *a latere* to try the Cause, and on the 23d of the same Month gave a Promise under his Hand not to revoke it: He also put a Decretal Bull into the Hands of Cardinal *Campeio*, annulling the Marriage, as had been desir'd.

The Pope grants such Bulls as the King requir'd,

But gives such Orders to his Legate as to render them of no Use,

Cardinal *Campeio* however did not set out for *England* till *August* or *September*, 1528, when the Confederate Army in *Naples* was destroy'd, as has been already related, and the Imperialists

aliſts being now Maſters of *Italy*, his Holineſs was ſo far influenc'd by the Emperor, that he thought fit to ſuſpend the Execution of all he had promis'd in Favour of King *Henry*. He directed *Campeio* therefore to delay the Proceedings in the Divorce by all poſſible Arts, and not to giveSentence till he receiv'd Orders in Writing from his Holineſs; but above all, he enjoin'd him not to ſhew the Decretal Bull to any one but the King and Cardinal *Wolſey*. *Campeio* arriving in *England* in *October*, inſtead of proceeding to hear the Cauſe, entreated the King that he wou'd let fall his Suit, and be reconcil'd to the Queen; at which his Majeſty was not a little provok'd. Then the Legate apply'd himſelf to Queen *Katherine*, and adviſ'd her to give way to the King's Humour, which it was in vain to oppoſe, and retire into a Cloyſter; but ſhe anſwer'd, She had been the King's Wife for ſo many Years, nor ſhould any thing ſeparate her from him, unleſs a Decree of the Pope's; whereupon the Legate, as if he had yet no Commiſſion to try the Cauſe, declar'd he cou'd do nothing in it 'till he receiv'd further Orders from *Rome*, and accordingly remain'd ſix Months in *England* without making any Attempts towards bringing the Matter to an Iſſue: He gave the King Hopes however that the thing wou'd be effected in time, and ſhew'd his Majeſty and Cardinal *Wolſey* the Decretal Bull he had brought with him, in order to confirm them in the Opinion of the Pope's Sincerity. But when the King deſir'd that ſome of his Council might ſee the Bull, *Campeio* refus'd it; of which the King complain'd to the Court of *Rome*, but was anſwer'd, that the Legate had purſu'd his Orders, that the Decretal

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Decretal Bull was granted only to prevent *Wolsey*'s Ruin, who had suggested, that if his Holiness refus'd to indulge the King in this Matter, it wou'd be of fatal Consequence to him, and besides it was never design'd to be publish'd, unless the Legates gave Sentence for the King.

The Pope being all this while treating with Emperor, the Kings of *England* and *France* having some Intimation of it, complain'd of his Partiality to that Prince; whereupon his Holiness sent *Campana*, another of his Ministers, to *England*, to endeavour to stifle the Report of his coming into the Emperor's Measures, and to assure the King that his Holiness was fully determin'd to stand neuter, and to do his Majesty Justice in this Suit; but this Emissary had Orders, as 'tis said, at the same time, to command *Campeio* to burn the Decretal Bull, and to create all imaginable Delay in the Proceedings. The King finding no Probability of bringing things to an Issue, dispatch'd Sir *Francis Bryan* and *Peter Vannes* to *Rome*, to discover, if possible, the Occasion of these repeated Delays. At their Arrival the Pope pretended to be extremely terrified at the Emperor's Menaces, who had threatned, he said, to depose him as illegitimate, if he comply'd with King *Henry*; whereupon the Ambassadors, as they were instructed, offer'd the Pope a Guard of 2000 Men, which being slighted by the Pontiff, as too inconsiderable a Protection against the Emperor, they proceeded to threaten his Holiness in their Turns, letting him know, that if he refus'd to do the King of *England* Justice, both that Nation and *France*, wou'd probably

Other Ambassadors sent to *Rome*.

They threaten the Pope.

probably throw off the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, and might find other Means to make him ſenſible of their Reſentment. They repreſented alſo, that the King of *England* had engag'd in an expenſive War, to deliver the Pope from his Captivity, and if he ſhou'd now enter into an Alliance with their common Enemy, all *Chriſtendom* muſt deteſt his Ingratitude. *A.D.*1528 / *A*20*Hen.*8

To which his Holineſs ſighing reply'd, he was between the Hammer and the Anvil; which way ſoever he look'd he ſaw nothing but Ruin before him, but he put his Confidence in the Almighty, who wou'd not forſake his Church; adding, that he had done more for the King of *England* already than cou'd be expected from him, by referring the Cauſe to two Legates, who had a great Dependance on him, and it was unreaſonable his Majeſty ſhou'd deſire him precipitately to ſacrifice the Emperor, the Queen, and even the Intereſts of the Holy See, to his Humour.

Then the Ambaſſadors, according to their Inſtructions, propos'd ſome Expedients to his Holineſs; as firſt, if the Queen took the Vow of Religion, the King might be at Liberty to marry again? 2. If the King and Queen vow'd Religion, the Pope wou'd diſpenſe with the King's Vow? or, 3dly, Whether the Pope wou'd grant him a Diſpenſation to have two Wives? * Expedients propos'd by the Ambaſſadors, two Wives, &c.

But I can't find there was any Anſwer given to theſe Enquiries; Biſhop *Burnet* indeed affirms, that the Pope conſented that the King *Burnet's* Aſſertion, that the Pope gave the King Liberty to have 2 Wives, refuſed.

* *Dr.* Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal* Wolſey, *Fol. p.* 462.

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King ſhould have two Wives, and grounds his Opinion on a Letter of Sir *Gregory Caſſali*'s, wherein he tells his Majeſty, the Pope advis'd him, if he could ſatisfy his own Conſcience as to the Nullity of the firſt Marriage, to marry another Wife, and then follow his Suit of Divorce. Upon which Paſſage Dr. *Fiddes* makes the following Reflections; he ſays 'That by the Pope's adviſing the King 'to take another Wife, he did not deſign 'to give him a Diſpenſation to retain two 'Wives at a time; but gave this Advice, 'in order to facilitate the Sentence of Di-'vorce from his former Wife; for it is plain, 'the Proceſs was to go on, and thereupon 'Judgment to enſue. The Pope did not 'therefore, as Biſhop *Burnet* would inſinuate 'from this Letter of *Caſſali*'s, offer the King 'two Wives, but would only have put him 'in a more ready and regular way of having 'one lawful Wife. And as to what Biſhop '*Burnet* affirms, *viz.* *That none of the* Ger-'man *Divines went ſo far as the Pope did, 'who did plainly offer to grant the King Licenſe 'to have two Wives*, is ſtill more ſurprizing; 'that the Exceſs of his Zeal againſt Popery, 'ſhould ſometimes tranſport him beyond his 'uſual Temper and Moderation, may more 'eaſily be accounted for; but that he ſhould 'ſo far forget, or rather appear to forget 'himſelf, as to ſhew no regard to known 'Facts, to Facts referr'd to by himſelf, and 'whereof he could not therefore be igno-'rant, diſcovers a Negligence, to ſay no 'worſe, by no means reconcileable with the 'Character of an exact Hiſtorian.

'Now,

'Now, tho' this learned Prelate has ob- A.D.1528
'ſerv'd, that none of the *German* Divines
'went ſo far in this Matter as the Pope did, A 20 Hen. 8
'yet he had not many Lines before ſaid,
'that in the Opinion of *Grineus*, who was a
'*German* Divine, tho' the King's Marriage
'was ill made, it ought not to be diſſolv'd,
'and that he was enclin'd rather to adviſe,
'the King ſhould take another Wife, keep-
'ing the Queen ſtill. This is ſo flagrant an
'Inconſiſtency, that I forbear to make any
'farther Remarks upon it. Preſently after
'the Hiſtorian adds, that *Melanchthon* and
'others, had no mind to enter much into
'the Diſpute, about the King's Divorce,
'both for Fear of the Emperor, and becauſe
'they judg'd the King was led into it by
'diſhoneſt Affections; ſo that the Reaſon
'why *Melanchthon* himſelf would not approve
'of the ſecond Marriage, might be becauſe
'he was afraid of the Emperor, or thought
'the King was led into it by diſhoneſt
'Affections, and not becauſe he thought
'Polygamy unlawful; for after all, *He*
'*actually concurr'd with other* German *Di-*
'*vines, in an Aſſembly at* Wittemberg, *in*
'*allowing the Landgrave of* Heſſe *to marry a*
'*ſecond Wife, while the firſt was living and*
'*not divorc'd.*'

Whatever might be the Opinion of the Learned concerning the Divorce, the Common People, according to Lord *Herbert*, were entirely againſt it; they pitied the poor Queen, who was about to be turn'd off, after ſhe had been the King's Wife eighteen Years, and had brought him ſeveral Children, and aſcrib'd the King's Conduct in this matter to his Paſſion for Mrs. *Bolein*, inſomuch that

Murmurs of the People on the intended Divorce.

*A.D.*1528 the King thought proper before an Assembly of the Peers, the Judges, and other Persons of Distinction, solemnly to protest, *That nothing but a Desire of satisfying his Conscience, and settling the Succession of the Crown, had induc'd him to controvert this Marriage, for he esteem'd himself as happy in the Affections and Virtues of the Queen as any Prince living.* And to silence the Murmurs of the People, in the Words of the Lord *Herbet*, 'He caus'd 'Anne Bolein to depart the Court in such 'an abrupt and discontented Fashion, that 'she determin'd to absent herself altogether; 'neither could she be induc'd (as *Sanders* 'hath it) to come to the King any more, 'till her Father was commanded (not without Threats) to bring her thither, who by 'representing the common Danger to them 'both, obtain'd at length (tho' not without 'much Difficulty) the Consent of his unwilling Daughter to return, where yet she 'kept that Distance, that the King might 'easily perceive how sensible she was of her 'late Dismission *.

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The King's Protestation thereon.

Mrs. *Bolein* banish'd the Court.

But is recall'd.

Nor was *London* the only City which shew'd a Detestation of the Divorce, for *Nicholas de Burgo*, Professor of Divinity in the Cardinal's College at *Oxford*, appearing a zealous Advocate for it, so provok'd the Women of that City, who apprehended the Rights of the Sex interested in the Dispute, that they openly insulted him, and threw Stones at him as he went along the Streets; which being complain'd of, thirty of these Female Rioters were impriſon'd for three Days.

Women insult the Advocates for the Divorce.

The

* Herbert's Compleat History, 106.

The ſuppreſſing of a great Number of Monaſteries to endow the Cardinal's Colleges, was no leſs the Subject of the Peoples Murmurs than the Divorce, the Cardinal obtain'd at leaſt a Dozen Bulls this Year from *Rome* for that end. And here it may be proper to recollect, upon what Suggeſtions he firſt obtain'd an Authority from *Rome* for the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, and applying their Revenues to other Uſes: And I find that in a Bull, dated the 10th of *June*, 1519, authorizing the Cardinal to viſit the Monaſteries and Clergy of *England*; the Inducement for granting him this extraordinary Power, is grounded upon a Suggeſtion of his own, that the Monks and Secular Prieſts were intolerably ignorant and vicious, and *given up to a reprobate Senſe*. 'He ſaw, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, that the Corruptions of the Clergy 'gave ſo great Scandal, and their Ignorance 'was ſo profound, that unleſs ſome effectual 'way was taken for correcting theſe, they 'muſt needs fall into great Diſeſteem with 'the People, and therefore deſign'd to viſit 'all the Monaſteries of *England*, that ſo 'diſcovering their Corruptions, he might the 'better juſtify the Deſign he had to ſuppreſs 'moſt of them, and convert them into Bi'ſhopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, 'and Colleges, for which he procur'd Bulls 'from *Rome*; but was diverted from making 'uſe of them, by ſome, who adviſ'd him 'rather to ſuppreſs Monaſteries by the Pope's 'Authority, than proceed in a Method that 'would raiſe great Hatred againſt himſelf, 'caſt foul Aſperſions on the Religious Or'ders, and give the Enemies of the Church 'great Advantages againſt it.'

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Murmurs at the ſuppreſſing of Monaſteries.

The Ignorance and Immorality of the Monks the Inducement for diſſolving them.

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However, it appears that the Cardinal, either in Perſon, or by Dr. *Allen* and other Commiſſaries, did viſit the Monaſteries for ſeveral Years, and call the Monks to a very ſevere Account, which rais'd him a Multitude of Enemies; and it is not unlikely, that this put thoſe Eccleſiaſticks upon their Guard, and occaſion'd a very conſiderable Reformation amongſt them. But this was not all *Wolſey* propos'd by this Viſitation, his grand Deſign, as has been already intimated, was to ſuppreſs ſeveral Monaſteries entirely, and to erect Schools and Colleges in the room of them, and to apply their Revenues to the Advancement of Learning. In order to which he obtain'd a Bull from Pope *Clement* VII. bearing Date the 3d of *April*, 1524, (to which the King gave his Aſſent the 19th of *April* following) for ſuppreſſing the Monaſtery of St. *Fridiſwood* in *Oxford*, and erecting a College on the Site of it, to be call'd *Cardinal-College*, as has been already related. He was alſo empower'd to ſettle two thouſand Pounds a Year upon the ſaid College out of other Monaſteries that were afterwards ſuppreſs'd, for the Maintenance of a Dean, Subdean, ſixty Canons of the firſt Rank, forty of the ſecond, thirteen Chaplains, twelve Clerks, and ſixteen Choriſters, together with Lecturers, or Profeſſors in Divinity, Law, Phyſick, Philoſophy, and Humanity: There were alſo to be four Cenſors of Manners, and Examiners of the Proficiency of Students, three Treaſurers, four Stewards, and twenty inferior Servants; in all, one hundred and eighty-ſix Members of this College, according to the Cardinal's original Scheme. A Revenue was likewiſe ſettled for the

The firſt Monaſtery ſuppreſs'd at *Oxford*, and a College erected on the Site of it.

The Cardinal's original Plan.

the Entertainment of Strangers, and the Relief of the Poor; and the Library was to have been equal to the reſt, the Cardinal deſigning to furniſh it with the Learning and Curioſities of the Vatican, and even to have tranſcrib'd the Pope's Manuſcripts to repleniſh it. But the King ſeizing on the College, as part of the Cardinal's Eſtate, on his Diſgrace, great Alterations were made in this Foundation, and the very Name of the College chang'd, as will appear hereafter. The Cardinal alſo founded another College, or great School, at *Ipſwich*, which was to ſerve as a Seminary to the former; but this latter fell with its Founder, and was never re-eſtabliſh'd afterwards. *A.D.* 1528 / *A.* 20 *Hen.* 8

The Cardinal, to enable him to build and endow theſe Colleges, it appears, obtain'd Bulls for the ſuppreſſing above thirty Monaſteries; he appropriated alſo an incredible Number of Parſonages to the ſame Uſes, for which he is charg'd with Sacriledge and Vain Glory by ſome, while he is applauded to the Skies by others, as the Reſtorer of Learning, Religion, *&c.* The Reader cannot therefore be more pertinently and agreeably entertain'd in this Place, than with an Abſtract of the ſeveral Arguments, for and againſt the Diſſolution of Monaſteries, to which this great Miniſter is generally ſuppos'd to have led the way. 40 Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd. Parſonages impropriated.

Biſhop *Burnet* does not only approve of the ſuppreſſing theſe Convents, but even condemns the Folly and Bigotry of our Anceſtors in erecting them; he aſſerts, 'That the Foun- 'dation of theſe Houſes was laid on the ſu- 'perſtitious Conceit of redeeming Souls out 'of Purgatory, by ſaying Maſſes for them, 'and Arguments for and againſt the ſuppreſſing of Monaſteries. Biſhop *Burnet*'s Account of their Inſtitution.

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'and that the Monks, by counterfeiting Relicks, by forging Miracles, and other like Impostures, had drawn together a vast Wealth, to the enriching of their Saints, of whom some perhaps were damn'd Souls, and others never in Being.

'That these Arts, together with their Vices, being detected in some Places, and all their great Abuse of the Christian Religion, made it seem unfit they should be continu'd.' In another Place this Right Reverend Writer says, 'That the Monks gave themselves up to Idleness and Pleasure, which had been long complain'd of, but now that Learning began to be restor'd, they being every where possess'd of the best Church Beneficies, were look'd upon by all learn'd Men with an evil Eye, as having in their Hands the chief Encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they, on the contrary, decrying and disparaging it all they could, saying, It would bring in Heresy, and a great deal of Mischief. And the Restorers of Learning, such as *Erasmus*, *Vives*, and others, did not spare them, but did expose their Ignorance and ill Manners to the World *.'

A very different Account of them.

We meet however with a very different Account of the Institution of these Religious Houses, in Dr. *Fiddes*'s *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*. That Author observes, That before the Universities, in this and other Nations, were founded, or had arriv'd to that flourishing State we find them in at present, it was the Piety and Practice of our Ancestors, to build

* *Bishop* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, *Vol.* I. *p.* 22.

build Colleges, Houſes of Religion, Hoſpitals, and Seminaries, in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, for the Advancement of Religion, Learning, Hoſpitality, and Charity, as was acknowledg'd by Mr. *Stephens*, in his Manuſcripts, and ſome other Writers, the moſt inveterate Adverſaries to Popery. 'They were (ſays *Stephens*) 'better conſtituted Houſes than they 'are commonly taken to have been, where 'honeſt and ſtudious Men gave the Youth a 'Learned Education, and inſtructed them 'in the Knowledge of Moral and Divine 'Subjects, where, before the Art of Printing was diſcover'd, they wrote Books, exercis'd Diſputations, and in ſuch a manner inſtill'd the Principles of Religion and 'Learning into their Inferiors, that fit and 'able Men, Biſhops, and ſubordinate Paſtors, were choſen out of them for the Government and common Edification of the 'Church. *

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It is further obſerv'd by Dr. *Fiddes*, that theſe Houſes, before their Diſſolution, yielded a very great Revenue to the Crown, not leſs than an hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, and conſidering the Improvement of Rents, *&c.* wou'd at this Day been worth a Million annually to the Government, if they had not been ſuppreſs'd; that they contributed alſo ſo effectually to the Relief of the Poor, that there were not till their Diſſolution any Acts in Being for taxing the People by a Poor's Rate; that when the Univerſities came to be enlarg'd, and better endow'd and regulated, there was leſs Occaſion indeed for theſe more private

* Dr. Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal* Wolſey. *p.* 401 *to* 405.

*A.D.*1528 private Seminaries of Education; but till that
A. 20 *H.*8. Time moſt of the Learning in this and other Nations was deriv'd to them through theſe Chanels, and even after the Univerſities were in a more flouriſhing Condition, they might have been ſubſervient, as Schools of Education preparatory to them, or been otherwiſe employ'd, to ſeveral Ends more beneficial to the State than by a Diſſolution of them, in the Manner they were afterwards by *Henry* 8.

It is not eaſy to apprehend therefore, ſays Dr. *Fiddes*, what induc'd *the learned Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation* to inveigh with ſo much Acrimony againſt the Monks *of former times*, as if they were not only the moſt idle and illiterate Part of Mankind, but profeſs'd Enemies to Learning; for if Concluſions might be drawn to the Diſadvantage of any Society of Men upon Earth, without Diſtinction of Perſons, from the Defects and Irregularities of certain Numbers, the World muſt neceſſarily be led into very falſe and uncharitable Judgments concerning them. That there were idle and ignorant Monks is a Truth that cannot be diſputed; but it is contrary to Truth to ſay, *that the whole Body of Monks were idle and ignorant*, or even to ſay of them in general, *that inſtead of doing any thing towards the Advancement of Learning, they decry'd and diſparag'd it all they cou'd.*

Biſhop *Burnet* animadverted upon for repreſenting things unfairly.

This is a very hard Cenſure, ſays another Author, to paſs upon a whole Order of Men, who were once very honourable, but always ſerviceable in the Church; for in the Reign of *Edgar*, in the Tenth Century, they ſet themſelves with great Induſtry to reſtore Learning, and root out that univerſal Ignorance which then prevail'd in *England*, and effectually

The Monks anciently the Reſtorers of Learning,

effectually perform'd it: Then, and long after, the Monasteries were the Schools and Nurseries of the Clergy, as well secular as regular: The Universities were then very mean Societies, if there were any: As the Universities encreas'd, these Houses gradually decreas'd, yet still retain'd and cultivated Learning, till about the Middle of the 13th Century, when the Mendicant Orders arose, who by their Hypocrisy, juggling Tricks, and extraordinary Industry, run down both them and the secular Clergy; but the Mendicants becoming contemptible within 200 Years, the Monks and Seculars began to recover their ancient Credit, and long before the Reformation had made great Progress in the Restoration of Learning, every great Monastery having for that Purpose a peculiar College in one of the Universities, and at the Time of their Dissolution, continu'd to bring up great Numbers of Children at School at their own Charge, and *even in the worst Times, they were far from being Enemies and Oppossers of Learning, as Bishop* Burnet *asserts.* A.D. 1528 A. 20 H. 8 And some time before the Reformation.

But notwithstanding what has been said in Favour of Monasteries, and against applying their Revenues to prophane Uses, as was afterwards practis'd in this Reign, I find it generally agreed, that the supreme Authority in every Nation have a Power of alienating the Revenues appropriated to Religious Houses or Societies, upon wise and good Reasons; that supposing it evident any pious Foundation cou'd be put under a better, tho' very different Rule, so as more effectually to attain those Ends of Piety for which it was first instituted, there is no Injury done to the Founder in modelling it anew; from whence it is inferr'd,

A.D. 1528 — A. 20 H. 8.

that as the Cardinal's Design in those Monasteries he dissolv'd was in Pursuit of a general Good, even the greatest Good that can accrue to Mankind, that of a pious and learned Education, he was not only excusable in dissolving so many Monasteries, to endow his Colleges, but deserves the greatest Applause that can be given him.

Monasteries suppress'd before *Wolsey* suppress'd any.

Nor was *Wolsey* the first in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. who advis'd the Dissolution of Monasteries, and appropriating their Revenues to more beneficial Uses; for the Monastery of *Bromhall*, near *Windsor*, in *Berkshire*, was dissolv'd in the Year 1521, at the Instance of *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and the Revenues apply'd to the Maintenance of St. *John*'s College in *Cambridge*; and about the same time the Priory of *Heigham* in *Kent* was disolv'd, and the Demesns there granted to the same College.

Monasteries suppress'd long before the Reformation.

It is observ'd also, that long before the Reign of *Henry* VIII. *Wainfleet*, *Chichely*, and other Prelates, founded several Colleges on the Ruins of the Priors Alien, and endow'd them with the Revenues belonging to those Houses, for which they were never censur'd in the least. The Lands of the Knights Templars also were seiz'd, and their Houses dissolv'd, in the fourteenth Century, even with the Pope's Concurrence. There seems to be no manner of doubt therefore of the Justice of making such Alienations, where the Revenues are really apply'd to Uses more pious and beneficent, tho' the converting them to prophane Uses is generally held to be impious. But I defer treating further on this Head till the Time of the General Dissolution of the Monasteries, which happen'd some Years afterwards in this Reign.

Houses of the Knights Templars dissolv'd, as well as the Priors Alien.

The

A.D. 1528
A. 20 H. 8

The Sweating Sickness again very mortal.

The Nation was again visited with the Sweating Sickness this Year, which usually carry'd off the Patient within the Space of four or five Hours. The Lord *Herbert* was of Opinion that it proceeded from the same Contagion of the Air which produc'd the Plague in *Italy*, and destroy'd the *French* Army. Sir *Francis Poyntz*, Sir *William Compton*, and Mr. *William Cary*, the two last of the King's Bed-chamber, with several other Persons of Distinction, were carry'd off by it, and his Majesty himself was in some Danger. The same Distemper prov'd very mortal in *Germany*, and was the Occasion of breaking off the Conferences between *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, concerning the Corporal Presence in the Eucharist.

The King had so artfully manag'd the Nobility of *Scotland*, that they were busied in Domestick Factions, and had not given *England* any Disturbance for a considerable time. It has been already observ'd, that Earl *Douglas* had found means to get the young King *James* V. into his Power, and taken upon him the Administration of the Government; but Queen *Margaret*, the Sister of *Henry* VIII. having obtain'd a Divorce from *Douglas*, and married *Henry Stuart*, form'd such a Party, that she rescu'd her Son out of the Hands of the Earl; whereupon a Parliament was assembled at *Edinburgh* on the fourth of *September*, where Earl *Douglas* and his Brothers were condemn'd, and their Estates confiscated; but they continu'd still in Arms, and gave the Government a great deal of Disturbance; whereupon the King of *England* sent Ambassadors to *Scotland*, to arbitrate between them; and it was agreed that the *Douglasses* shou'd

The King of *Scots* rescu'd from Earl *Douglas*.

Q. *Margaret* marries *Stuart*.

*A.D.*1528 *A.*20 *H* 8.

have Liberty to reſide in *England*, on Condition of delivering up the Places they held to their Sovereign; but if they infeſted the *Scotiſh* Borders, King *Henry* ſhou'd make Satisfaction for the Injury, as if done by the *Engliſh*; and a Truce was concluded between the two Nations for five Years, on the 14th of *December*. The *Douglaſſes* remain'd in *England*, and receiv'd an annual Penſion from King *Henry*, till the Death of King *James*, when they were recall'd, and their Eſtates reſtor'd them.

A Truce with *Scotland*.

Iriſh Affairs

The Affairs of *Ireland*, 'tis preſum'd, gave the Government very little Trouble at this Time, for Hiſtorians ſcarce mention any thing more in relation to that Kingdom than the Diſputes between *Fitzgerald* Earl of *Kildare*, ſometime Deputy of *Ireland*, and the Family of *Ormond*. The Earl, it appears, was charg'd with ſome Miſconduct, and ſent to *England*, where he was impriſon'd for Reflections on the Cardinal, but afterwards reſtor'd to his Government. He was again brought to *England* on a freſh Charge in the Year 1527, and by the Influence of the Cardinal, 'tis ſaid, condemn'd, and ſent to the Tower; and, according to Lord *Herbert*, the Cardinal, without the King's Knowledge, ſent the Lieutenant an Order for the Earl's Execution; but the Lieutenant having a Friendſhip for *Kildare*, and acquainting the King with it, the King ſeverely reprimanded the Cardinal for his Preſumption, and having pardon'd the Earl, permitted him to return to *Ireland*; tho' he was not reſtor'd to his Poſt, for I find the Earl of *Oſſory*, of the *Ormond* Family, was at this Time Governor of *Ireland*. The famous Dr. *John Allen*, who had been the Cardinal's Chaplain

Diſputes between the Houſes of *Kildare* and *Ormond*

Earl of *Kildare* condemn'd, but pardon'd.

Earl of *Oſſory* Governor of *Ireland*.

Chaplain and Commiſſary in the Viſitation of the Monaſteries, and againſt whom there had been ſo many Complaints for his Extortions, was notwithſtanding ſtill ſo much in favour, that he was about this time made Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, and Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, but murder'd by *Thomas Fitzgerald*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Kildare*, in the Year 1534, poſſibly an account of his having been a Creature of the Cardinal's, between whom and the Earl there ſeems to have been a Quarrel of many Years ſtanding. But to return to *England*. As the Cardinal had procur'd the Diſſolution of upwards of twenty Monaſteries to endow his College at *Oxford*, it appears that the King oblig'd him to procure a Bull for the ſuppreſſing a great many more this Year, to endow the Royal Colleges of *Windſor (Eaton)* and *King*'s in *Cambridge*, in which the King was limited not to exceed eight thouſand Ducats *per Annum*, and not to ſuppreſs any Convent in which there were more than ſix Monks; and it's probable that when the Cardinal is charg'd with ſuppreſſing forty Convents, theſe which were apply'd to the Endowment of the King's Colleges were part of the Number, for there were not more than the Revenues of twenty or thereabouts, appropriated to the eſtabliſhing the Cardinal's College at *Oxford*.

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Dr. *Allen*, the Cardinal's Favourite, made Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

He is murder'd by the Earl of *Kildare*'s Son.

Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd, to endow the King's Colleges at *Cambridge* and *Eaton*.

We meet with another Bull alſo in *Rymer**, dated *November*, 1528, authoriſing the ſuppreſſing of ſeveral other leſſer Monaſteries, and uniting them to the greater; and a third dated the 28th of *November*, for ſuppreſſing ſeveral

Bull for uniting the leſſer Monaſteries to the greater.

* Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. 14, p. 270.

Another for converting the greater into Cathedral Churches, and erecting new Bishopricks.

several of the largest Monasteries, and converting them into Cathedral Churches, wherein ten thousand Ducats *per Annum* are assign'd for every new Bishoprick intended to be erected; which shews the Vastness and Excellence of the Cardinal's Original Design, and which probably he had accomplish'd if he had not soon after been disgrac'd; but this Scheme was afterwards unhappily executed, or rather alter'd, by some rapacious Courtiers, who regarded the enriching their own Families more than the Advancement of Religion, or the Welfare of their Country.

*A.D.*1529 — *An* 21 *Hen.* 8

The Pope being still engag'd in a Treaty with the Emperor, endeavour'd to keep the King of *England* in Suspence, as to the Divorce, till he had work'd up his Imperial Majesty to his own Terms; accordingly we find that the Legates did not make one Step towards bringing the Cause to an Issue, for six Months after Cardinal *Campeio* arriv'd in *England*. But in this Interval, *viz.* in the Beginning of the Year 1529, his Holiness was taken dangerously ill, which drew off the Attention of the Princes of *Europe* from the Business of the Divorce, to the procuring a Pope to fill the Papal Chair, who might be favourable to their respective Interests. The Kings of *England* and *France* enclin'd most to *Wolsey*, who, upon Advice of the Pope's Sickness, immediately sent an Express to *Gardiner*, and the other *English* Ambassadors at *Rome*, to endeavour by all imaginable Ways to form a Party among the Cardinals, and 'twas computed that he was secure of one third of them, who were so devoted to his Interest by the rich Presents he made them, and the Promises they reciev'd from the two Monarchs

Wolsey aspires to the Papacy again.

narchs in his Behalf, that they had agreed, if they cou'd not carry it for *Wolsey*, to pretend the Conclave was influenc'd by the Emperor's Troops in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and remove to some Place of Safety, where they were to proceed to a new Election, and protest against all that shou'd be done in the Conclave at *Rome* in favour of another: But *Clement* the VIIth recovering soon after, put a Period to these Projects; and he is said to be so offended with *Wolsey* for making Interest for the Papacy in his Life-time, that he never forgave him: However, as his Holiness had already exasperated the Court of *England* by his affected Delays in the Business of the Divorce, he thought fit to conceal his Resentment against the Cardinal for the present, and confer'd on him, at the King's Request, the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, which became vacant on the Death of Dr. *Richard Fox*; whereupon *Wolsey* resign'd that of *Durham*.

A.D. 1529 — *A* 21 *Hen.* 8

He is made Bishop of *Winchester*.

In the mean time the Emperor, in Queen *Katherine*'s Name, protested against every thing that shou'd be determin'd in *England* by the two Legates, concerning the Divorce, for that they were both the King's Dependants, one his Subject, and the other Bishop of *Salisbury*; which Protest was receiv'd by the Court of *Rome*, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the *English* Ambassadors; which, added to the Pope's treating with the Emperor, that was fully discover'd at this time, induc'd the Ambassadors to let the King know, that his Holiness only endeavour'd to amuse him, and if the Divorce was not suddenly decided by the Legates in *England*, the Cause wou'd be recall'd to *Rome*, notwithstanding the Pope had given *Gardiner* a Promise

Emperor protests in the Queen's Name against the Proceedings of the Legats.

A.D. 1529 miſe in Writing not to revoke the Legate's Commiſſion; whereupon the King order'd his Ambaſſadors, *Gardiner* and *Brian*, to leave *Rome*, but ſent Dr. *Bennet* however thither, to delay the Avocation as long as poſſible. And on the laſt of *May* his Majeſty ſign'd an Inſtrument, whereby the Legates were licens'd and impower'd to ſit and determine the Cauſe in Purſuance of the Pope's Bull, propoſing to have had the Matter decided before the Avocation ſhou'd arrive; but we are inform'd that the two Legates ſent a Letter to the Pope by *Bennet*, repreſenting that as the principal Point they were to determine was, *Whether Pope* Julius II. *had Power to grant a Diſpenſation for the Marriage*, his Holineſs wou'd do well to avocate the Cauſe, the Queſtion being of too high a Nature for them to debate; nor did they doubt of getting the King to conſent to this, provided his Holineſs wou'd ſign an Inſtrument, declaring it ſhou'd be ſpeedily determin'd in his Favour. But this Letter can never be genuine, for *Bennet*'s Inſtructions were certainly of a very different Tenour, if we may give Credit to another Letter * that the ſame Author has given us in his Collections, annex'd to the firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, wherein *Bennet* tells *Wolſey*, that he had repreſented to the Pope, that if his Holineſs ſhou'd be influenc'd by the Imperialiſts to avoke the Cauſe, it was the Opinion of his Eminence *(Wolſey)* that he wou'd, without Remedy, alienate his Majeſty, with his Realms, and thoſe of other Princes, from their Devotion and

An. 21 *Hen.* 8

The Legates impower'd to ſit by the King.

Their Letter to the Pope to avocate the Cauſe.

Suppos'd not to be genuine.

Becauſe it contradicts the Cardinal's Inſtructions to *Bennet*.

* Burnet's *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, *p.* 75.

and Obedience to the See Apoſtolick, and that thereby not only his own (*Wolſey*'s) Perſon, but the Church of *England*, wou'd be utterly deſtroy'd, which his Eminence (*Wolſey*) with weeping Eyes lamentably repreſented to his Holineſs. To which the Pope anſwer'd with Tears, that he ſaw the Deſtruction of Chriſtendom approaching, and lamented that it was his Misfortune to fill the Papal Chair at ſuch Time, and not be able to remedy it; for God was his Judge, he wou'd gladly do what the King requir'd, but it was not in his Power; he cou'd not deny the Avocation, if the Imperialiſts inſiſted on it, according to the unanimous Opinion of his Council. From whence it is pretty evident, that *Wolſey* was far from deſiring the Pope to avocate the Cauſe. But however that Matter was, the Legates, in Purſuance of the Pope's Bull, and the King's Licenſe to proceed upon it, met on the laſt of *May*, 1529, the very Day the Licenſe was dated, at the great Hall in the Palace of *Black-Fryars*, call'd the Parliament-Chamber, and having their Commiſſion to be read, the King and Queen were cited to appear on the 18th of *June*, when the Citations being return'd, *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of the Chapel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appear'd as the King's Proxies, and the Queen, appearing in Perſon, excepted againſt the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging the Cauſe was avocated to *Rome*, and deſir'd Time to prove it; whereupon the Legates aſſign'd her the 21ſt Inſtant, to which Day the Court was adjourn'd.

A.D. 1529
A. 21 Hen. 8

The firſt Seſſion of the Legates.

The Queen excepts againſt the Judges.

The King and Queen appearing in Court with their reſpective Council on the 21ſt of *June*, her Majeſty fell upon her Knees before the King, and ſaid, 'She was a poor Wo-

She endeavours to move the Compaſſion of the Audience.

A.D.1529 — 21 Hen.8

'man, a Stranger in his Dominions, and 'could not expect to find indifferent Judges 'or faithful Council, where the King was a 'Party; that she had long been his Wife, 'and desir'd to know in what she had offend-'ed him; she protested he found her a true 'Virgin, for which she appeal'd to his own 'Conscience; if she had done any thing 'amiss she was willing he should put her 'away, but she durst not submit to this 'Court, for even the Council that were 'assign'd her, were his own Subjects, and 'could not speak for her with Freedom; 'she desir'd therefore to be excus'd entering 'upon her Defence till she heard from *Spain*.' And then rising up she left the Court.

The King's Declaration in relation to the Queen and *Wolsey*.

The Queen being gone, the King declar'd she had been a very dutiful Wife, neither was he at all offended with her, but had commenc'd this Suit purely to satisfy his Conscience, and said, he had been confirm'd in his Scruples by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all the Bishops of *England*, which was attested by the Archbishop, only *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* said, he differ'd from the rest of the Bishops in their Opinion. The King also protested, that Cardinal *Wolsey* was so far from being the first Mover of it, that he had always oppos'd it. But it was observ'd that the King said nothing as to the Queen's coming a Virgin to his Bed, tho' this seem'd to be the principal Point in Dispute. The Queen was cited to appear again the 25th Instant, but she sent in an Appeal to *Rome*, against all that had been or should be done in this Court; whereupon she was declar'd *Contumax*, and the Legates proceeded to examine Witnesses upon twelve Interrogatories

of

of the following Tenour, *viz.* Whether Prince *Arthur* and the King were Brothers? Whether Prince *Arthur* was married to the Queen, and had consummated his Marriage? Whether the King had married her by Virtue of a Dispensation after his Brother's Death? And, Whether the King's Marriage was forbidden by Divine or Human Laws? A.D. 1529 — 21 Hen. 8 — Interrogatories.

* The old Dutchess of *Norfolk* being excus'd from appearing in Court to give her Testimony, on Account of her great Age, her Deposition was read, wherein she declar'd, That Prince *Arthur* was about 15 Years of Age at the time of his Marriage, and that she saw the Prince and Princess in Bed together, the same Night it was solemniz'd, no other Person being in the Room. Which Evidence was given to silence a Report which then obtain'd Credit, and which *Sanders* afterwards inserted in his History, that a grave Matron was put into the same Bed with the Bride and Bridegroom to prevent the Consummation. Depositions of the Witnesses.

Sir *William Thomas*, and others, depos'd, that Prince *Arthur* was fifteen Years of Age and upwards at the time of his marrying the Princess *Katherine*, and that they liv'd together, either about *London* or at *Ludlow*, five Months, as Man and Wife.

Thomas Marquis of *Dorset*, *Robert* Viscount *Fitz-Water*, and others, depos'd, that Prince *Arthur* was born the 20th of *September*, 1486, and married the 14th Day of *November*, 1501.

Thomas Duke of *Norfolk*, and others, depos'd, that attending on Prince *Arthur* at

* Herbert's Compleat History 112.

A.D. 1529 Breakfaſt the Day after the Wedding, they heard him ſay to Sir *Anthony Willoughby*, *Give me a Cup of Ale, for I have been in the midſt of* Spain *this Night.* From which Words, and the Prince's being of a good Complection and Nature, and above fifteen, they believ'd that he carnally knew his Bride; and the Duke of *Norfolk* added, he was the more enclin'd to believe it, becauſe he himſelf knew his own Wife at the ſame Age.

21 *Hen.* 8

In the mean time the Emperor's Miniſters at *Rome*, were preſſing the Pope to grant an Avocation of the Cauſe, and thoſe of *England* as ſtrenuouſly oppos'd it; but the Treaty between his Holineſs and the Emperor being in a manner concluded, the Pope thought fit on the 15th of *July*, a little before the Signing of the Peace, to grant the Avocation. The Emperor, in order to gain this Point, and make the Pope his Friend, granted his Holineſs very advantagious Terms; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Emperor ſhould reſtore the Family of *Medicis*, from whence his Holineſs was deſcended, to the Sovereignty of *Florence*; that he ſhould procure him the Poſſeſſion of the Cities of *Ravenna*, *Cervia*, *Modena*, and *Regio*; and that he ſhould aſſiſt the Pope to reduce *Ferrara*; that *Francis Sforza*, or one the Pope ſhould approve of, ſhould have the Dutchy of *Milan*; and that *Alexander de Medicis* ſhould be married to the Lady *Margaret*, the Emperor's natural Daughter. And the Pope on his part, promis'd to abſolve all that were concern'd in the taking of *Rome* and ravaging his Territories. From whence it is obſerv'd, that the Pope was induc'd, no leſs by his Hopes than he was by his Fears, to conclude this

The Pope avocates the Cauſe.

The Treaty between the Pope and the Emperor.

this Treaty with the Emperor, for he could never have expected such advantagious Terms from the Confederates, particularly as to the advancing his near Relation *Alexander de Medicis* to the Sovereignty of *Florence*, because the *Florentines* had enter'd into an Alliance with the Confederates, in order to preserve their Liberties, and shake off the Yoke which the Family of *Medicis* had endeavour'd to bring them under. *A.D.*1529 *An* 21 *Hen.* 8

While the Pope and the Emperor were settling their Affairs in *Italy*, the Legates still continu'd to hold their Court from time to time in *England*, and having examin'd all the Proofs, and fully consider'd the Matter, it was expected that Sentence would have been given on the 23d of *July*; but, to the surprize of the King and the whole Kingdom, *Campeio* then adjourn'd the Court to the first of *October*, alledging, that this was the time of the long Vacation at *Rome*, and therefore no Business ought to be transacted either there or here, in any Courts which had a Dependance on that See. But *Cavendish* adds other Reasons, which *Campeio* gave for adjourning the Court, *viz.* 'That the Cause 'was of too high a Natute for them to give 'Judgment in, till they had consulted the 'Pope; that they must not have respect to 'Persons, let their Dignity be never so great, 'but must act according to their Consciences: 'Besides, the Defendant refus'd to answer, 'not esteeming them indifferent Judges, as 'they were the King's Subjects, and had 'appeal'd therefore from them: That for his 'own part, he was an old infirm Man, and 'expected Death every Day, What would 'it

The Legates adjourn the Court till *October*.

Their Reasons for it.

A.D. 1529. 'it avail him therefore to hazard his Soul for
'the Favour of any Prince in this World *?'

An. 21 *Hen.* 8.

The Court being thus adjourn'd, the Duke of *Suffolk* ſtood up by the King's Order, and ſaid with a menacing Countenance, *It was never ſo in* England *till we had Cardinals among us.* Which Cardinal *Wolſey* apprehending to be deſign'd as a Reflection on himſelf, anſwer'd, 'Sir, of all Men in this 'Realm you have leaſt Cauſe to diſpraiſe 'Cardinals, for if I poor Cardinal had not 'been, you would not at this preſent have had 'a Head on your Shoulders, wherewith to 'make ſuch a Brag in diſpute of us, who meant 'you no Harm, neither have given you ſuch 'Cauſe to be offended with us; I would have 'you think, my Lord, I and my Brother wiſh 'the King as much Happineſs, and the 'Realm as much Honour, Wealth, and 'Peace, as you or any other Subject, of what 'Degree ſoever he be, within this Realm, 'and would as gladly accompliſh his lawful 'Deſires.

The Duke of *Suffolk* reflects on *Wolſey.*

His Anſwer

'And now, my Lord, I pray you ſhew 'me what you would do in ſuch a Caſe as 'this, if you were one of the King's Com-'miſſioners in a foreign Region, about ſome 'weighty Matter, the Conſultation whereof 'were very doubtful to be decided; would you 'not advertiſe the King's Majeſty e'er you 'went through with the ſame? I doubt not 'but you would, and therefore abate your 'Malice and Spight, and conſider we are 'Commiſſioners for a time, and cannot by 'Virtue of our Commiſſion, proceed to Judg-'ment without the Knowledge and Conſent 'of

* *Dr.* Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey, 478 *fol.*

'of the Pope, from whom we derive our 'Authority. A.D.1529

'Therefore do we neither more or less than 'our Commission alloweth, and if any Man 'will be offended with us, he is an unwise 'Man; therefore pacify yourself, my Lord, 'and speak like a Man of Honour and Wis- 'dom, or hold your Peace; speak not 'reproachfully of your Friends; you best 'know what Friendship I have shewn you, 'which I never did reveal to any Person till 'now, either to my own Praise or your Dis- 'honour.' Whereupon, says *Cavendish*, the Duke went his way and said no more, being much discontented. A. 21 Hen 8

From whence Dr. *Fiddes* observes, that the Cardinal did not want Spirit to vindicate the Honour of his Character, and the Justice of his Proceedings, with a generous and becoming Freedom, that if *Wolsey* was on any Account culpable in the Conduct of this Affair, it was in espousing the King's Cause with too partial and violent a Zeal; but because he would not go all the Lengths the Court expected, and pronounce a rash or unjust Sentence, he was reproach'd in open Court by the very Person who ought of all Men living to have protected him from such Insults. But to proceed. *Fiddes*'s Remarks upon it.

The Bull of Avocation arriving in *England* in the beginning of *September*, the King let the Legates know, that he would not have it publish'd, because it cited their Majesties, contrary to the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom, to appear at *Rome* within forty Days, and Censures were denounc'd against them, in case of Disobedience. But to mollify the matter a little, the Pope afterwards revok'd The Bull of Avocation arrives

*A.D.*1529 revok'd thoſe Cenſures, proteſting they were
*A*21 *Hen.*8 inſerted without his Knowledge, and extended the time of Appearance till the *Chriſtmas* following. But this gave the King no Satisfaction, he remain'd highly exaſperated againſt the Court of *Rome*, and determin'd to ſhew his Reſentment againſt the Cardinal, whom he look'd upon as the Author of his Diſappointment, in which he was confirm'd by Mrs. *Bolein*, who, notwithſtanding ſhe had hitherto look'd upon the Cardinal as her Friend, as appears by ſeveral Letters *; ſeems from henceforward to have endeavour'd his Deſtruction; ſhe could not believe but *Wolſey* was at the bottom of all thoſe affected Delays in the Proceedings, and might have pronounc'd Sentence of Divorce, if he had been as zealous to promote it as he pretended. It is obſervable here, that Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, That *Campeio* preſided in the whole Proceſs, as being the *antienter* Cardinal, and to ſhew the greater Equity, ſince Exceptions might have been taken if *Wolſey* had appear'd much in it, ſo that he only ſat by him for form, all the Orders of the Court were ſtill directed to *Campeio*.

Facts related differently by *Burnet* and *Rapin*.

Rapin, on the contrary, ſays, That *Wolſey* was *eldeſt* Cardinal, but gave place to *Campeio* in every thing, and ſeems to blame him for his Condeſcenſion. Which of theſe eminent

* *In one of theſe Letters, ſhe ſays,* I do know the great Pains and Trouble that you have taken for me, both Day and Night, is never like to be recompenc'd on my part, but only in loving you next unto the King's Grace, above all Creatures living. I long to hear from you News of the Legate.——*The King adds in a Poſtcript,* The Writer of this Letter would not ceaſe till ſhe had caus'd me likewiſe to ſet my Hand, &c. *Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. *p.* 55.

nent Writers has Truth and Reaſon on his ſide is not very material; but I did not think *Rapin* would have taken upon him to contradict a Fact atteſted by Biſhop *Burnet*, that *illuſtrious Author*, as he calls him, and produce no Evidence of what he aſſerts. *A.D.*1529 *A*21 *Hen.*8

Burnet and *Rapin* both impos'd on in the Story concerning *Cranmer*, and contradict each other.

Rapin is no leſs unhappy in the Relation he gives us of the King's Progreſs to *Grafton*, whither Mrs. *Bolein* accompanied him; he tells us, that *Fox* and Secretary *Gardiner* happening in this Journey to lie at a Gentleman's Houſe, who had two Sons under the Tuition of Dr. *Thomas Cranmer*, they ſupp'd with the Doctor there, and diſcourſing with him concerning the Divorce, the Doctor, who had been Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, and loſt his Place on his Marriage, propos'd that the King ſhould procure the Opinion of all the foreign Univerſities. Part of which Story *Rapin* had from his ador'd Author Biſhop *Burnet*, but he had no Authority from him to aſſert, that Dr. *Cranmer* had been Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, and forfeited that Preferment by marrying. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that *Cranmer* had been *Fellow* of *Jeſus-College* in *Cambridge*, and having *forfeited his Fellowſhip by Marriage, yet ſtill continu'd his Studies, and was Reader of Divinity in Buckingham-College*; and that his Wife dying, he was again choſen *Fellow* of *Jeſus-College*, and was at this time *forc'd to fly from* Cambridge *on Account of the Plague*, and was with his two Pupils, the Sons of Mr. *Creſſy*, at their Father's Houſe at *Waltham*, when *Fox* and *Gardiner* came to lodge there. But with Submiſſion to *Rapin*, and the celebrated Author of the Reformation, *The Story of* Cranmer's *firſt propoſing the King's taking the Opinion of*

*A.D.*1529 *A.*21 *Hen.*8 *the foreign Univerſities, concerning the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage,* has no better Foundation than what *Rapin* relates of *Cranmer's being Profeſſor of Divinity at Oxford,* as Dr. *Fiddes* has made very evident. This Gentleman obſerves, that *Fox* is the firſt known Author of this Story of *Cranmer,* from whom it is ſuppos'd Archbiſhop *Parker,* and all our other Hiſtorians in whom it is found, have tranſcrib'd it. But from what Authority *Fox* had it, or upon what Motives he reported it, is very uncertain. This however is evident, that the time aſſign'd by him for the Conference at *Waltham,* with *Gardiner* and Biſhop *Fox,* was in *Auguſt,* about the time of *Campeio*'s Departure out of *England.* The Inference from hence is clear; *Cranmer,* according to *Fox*'s Account, could not be the Author of the Advice, that the King ſhould conſult the foreign Univerſities and Divines, about the Legality of his Marriage, not only becauſe the Deciſion of the Univerſity of *Orleans* * bears date above a Quarter of a Year before this ſuppos'd Conference at *Waltham*; but the King in his Speech at the Palace of *Bridewell,* in the preceding Year, ſaid before the Legates, that he had ask'd Counſel of the greateſt Clerks in Chriſtendom about his Marriage †.

Theſe Reaſons appear of themſelves ſufficient to overthrow the Credit of that Story. But it may farther be added from *Cavendiſh,* for a final Confutation of it, that by the King's Leave, the Cardinal call'd the Biſhops and Clergy together, to debate about the King's Marriage,

* Rymer's Fædera, *Vol.* XIV. *p.* 290.
† Fiddes's Life of Cardinal Wolſey, *p.* 469, *fol.*

Marriage, and that in this Assembly it was thought very expedient, the King should send out his Commissioners into all the Universities in Christendom, as well here in *England* as foreign Regions, there to have the Case argu'd substantially; and to bring with him from thence, every Definition of their Opinions, under the Seals of every University. And Dr. *Ackworth*, a learned Civilian who wrote against *Saunders*, says the same; and it is observable, that in the *Latin* Edition of *Fox*'s *Acts and Monuments*, printed at *Basil*, he saith, *Cranmer* in the University of *Cambridge*, so well acquitted himself in the Defence of the King's Cause, and made so many Converts, that *Gardiner* thought fit to acquaint the King with it, *which was the Occasion of sending for him.* *A.D.* 1529 — *A.* 21 *Hen.* 8

But however that was, the King no sooner understood that the Pope was determin'd to avocate the Cause, but he dismiss'd the Queen from Court, recall'd Mrs. *Bolein*, and, as has been intimated already, took a Journey with that Lady to *Grafton* in *Northamptonshire*. Hither they were follow'd by the two Cardinals *Campeius* and *Wolsey*, who met with a very cold Reception, *Campeius* indeed, as he was a Foreigner, and a Person of publick Character, was treated with some Civility, and an Apartment assign'd him; but when *Wolsey* was about to go to his Lodgings, he was told that there were none provided for him; at which he was surpriz'd, having always had an Apartment assign'd him wherever the King resided till then, and the Cardinal was oblig'd to accept of an Offer Sir *John Norris* made him, of lodging with him. The next Day *Wolsey* waited on the King again, and

The Queen being dismiss'd, Mrs. *Bolein* accompanies the King into *Northamptonshire*. The Cardinals follow them, and are but coldly receiv'd.

*A.D.*1529 did not seem to be ill receiv'd; however, neither of the Legates were ask'd to dine with him; the King din'd with Mrs. *Bolein* in her Lodgings. These, says my Author, were thought innocent Freedoms, which it would be difficult to reconcile with the strict Maxims of Behaviour, which obtain among young Ladies of Distinction at present.

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The King dines with Mrs. *Bolein* in her Lodgings.

At Dinner, says *Cavendish*, (who had it from those that waited) Mrs. *Bolein* shew'd she was offended, as much as she durst, that the King had so graciously receiv'd the Cardinal. It appears however, that the King had a long Conference with his Eminence afterwards, and appointed him to attend him next Morning; but when the Cardinal came, he found his Majesty just ready to take Horse, and without any farther Notice of his Eminence, coldly order'd him to consult with the Lords in his Absence: Mrs. *Bolein* in the mean time rode out with the King to take the Air, and to prevent his Majesty's return before the Cardinal was gone, she had taken care to provide an Entertainment for his Majesty at *Harewell-Park*. *Wolsey* finding himself neglected, and judging there was no contending with the Power of this Lady, that he might not expose himself to the Raillery of the Court, by waiting the King's return, he departed with his Collegue *Campeius*, presaging, says my Author, the great Calamities which were shortly to follow; nor did either of the Legates see his Majesty's Face afterwards.

The Reason of *Wolsey*'s disgrace enquir'd into.

It is suppos'd, by some Authors of good Credit, that the Reason of this Change in the King and Mrs. *Bolein* towards Cardinal *Wolsey* (for whom they had expres'd the greatest

greateſt Eſteem and Friendſhip, till the Avocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*) proceeded from ſome underhand Practices they had diſcover'd in the Cardinal towards defeating the Divorce; and it is even aſſerted, that however he might appear outwardly to be zealous in promoting it, he was at the Bottom againſt the Divorce, and even wrote to the Pope himſelf to avocate the Cauſe; but this Biſhop *Burnet* and others (no Friends to the Cardinal) ſeem to acquit him of, with a great deal of Reaſon, obſerving, that his Eminence had from time to time repreſented to the Pope, in the moſt moving manner, that the Separation of the Church of *England* from *Rome*, and his own Deſtruction, would prove the infallible Conſequences of rejecting the King's Suit; and we find his Conjectures exactly verified. A.D. 1529 A. 21 Hen. 8

But further, *Wolſey*, from the Account the King and he himſelf gives of the matter, was at firſt againſt the Divorce, and engag'd in it purely to oblige his Majeſty; but that he was very ſincere in his Endeavours after he once undertook it, may be gather'd from the Queen's and the Emperor's Behaviour towards him, who always look'd upon him as their principal Enemy after the Suit commenc'd, and theſe Princes had, no doubt, a conſiderable Share in his Fall, by countenancing theſe Reports that obtain'd among the People, of the Cardinal's double dealing; nor was the Pope without ſome ſelfiſh Views in promoting, or at leaſt conniving at the Cardinal's Ruin. It cannot be ſuppos'd, if *Wolſey* had been in the Pope's and the Emperor's Intereſts, but they would have made ſome Remonſtrances or Efforts to ſave him. They ſeem to argue with more Reaſon therefore, who aſſert, that his

*A.D.*1529 his Holineſs was glad to ſee this great Prelate diſgrac'd; that he look'd upon *Wolſey* to be a Rival for the Papacy, even in his Life-time; for as the Emperor had threatned to depoſe the Pope, as unqualified to fill the Papal Chair on Account of his being a Baſtard, if he comply'd with King *Henry*; ſo the Cardinal's Agents at *Rome* had threatned the ſame thing, if his Holineſs ſided with his Imperial Majeſty, which the Pope could not chuſe but reſent; and we may conſequently very well acquit the Cardinal of any Contrivances in concert with the Pope or the Emperor, to the Diſadvantage of his Sovereign. But it may be demanded, What then was the Reaſon of the Cardinal's indolent Conduct, and that he did not exert himſelf more to obtain what both the King and he are ſaid ſo much to deſire?

A 21 Hen. 8

I anſwer, that Cardinal *Wolſey* did not only expreſs all imaginable Zeal for the King's Cauſe, after he had once engag'd in it, but took the propereſt means in the World to bring it to a happy Iſſue; as he was conſcious his Holineſs was more likely to be govern'd by his Temporal Intereſts, than by the Juſtice of the Cauſe, or any Religious Motives; he enter'd into a Treaty with the *French* King, whereby that Monarch was oblig'd to ſend an Army into *Italy*, far ſuperior to that of the Emperor's, and to be maintain'd chiefly at the Charge of *England*; that accordingly this Army did march the whole Length of *Italy*, laid Siege to *Naples*, which they were upon the Point of carrying, and which would have made them Maſters, not only of the whole Country, but of the Pope himſelf, when unexpectedly the Confederate Army

was

was deſtroy'd by Peſtilence and Famine, together with their Generals; having been firſt deſerted by Admiral *Doria* and the *Genoeſe* Fleet, which gave the Imperialiſts an Opportunity of relieving *Naples*. Theſe were Events which the Cardinal could not foreſee or prevent, and are allow'd on all Hands, to be the true Reaſon of the Pope's denying the Divorce, tho' he had actually promis'd to indulge the King in it, while the Confederate Forces were ſuperior to thoſe of the Emperor in *Italy*. A.D. 1529 — A. 21 Hen. 8

It is highly probable, that when the Cardinal ſent this formidable Army into *Italy*, abundantly ſufficient to have influenc'd the Pope, and had actually obtain'd a Promiſe of his Holineſs to comply with the King, he did in this Situation of Affairs, aſſure his Majeſty and Mrs. *Bolein*, that they could not miſs of ſucceeding; which having for ſome time flatter'd themſelves with, they were exaſperated to the laſt Degree with the Cardinal on their Diſappointment, and gave Ear to every Suggeſtion to his Diſadvantage, tho' he was probably, perfectly innocent of any Intention to impoſe upon them; for it evidently appears, that it was the Loſs of the Confederate Army that induc'd the Pope to take different Meaſures; it was on this unexpected Turn of Affairs that he ſent *Campeio* poſitive Orders to burn the Decretal Bull, and not proceed to Sentence without acquainting him: And in theſe Circumſtances what could *Wolſey* do more than he did? He could not give Judgment without his Collegue, and if it had been poſſible to prevail with *Campeio* to join with him, he knew their Sentence would be revok'd at *Rome*. Very unhappy indeed

*A.D.*1529 indeed it was for the Cardinal, that he had appear'd ſo ſanguine in the matter at firſt, as to give the King and the Lady Hopes of ſucceeding, from the Influence he had on the Court of *Rome*; for this, it ſeems, they believ'd he had to the laſt, and might have obtain'd the Divorce if he had been ſincere; and this Apprehenſion of theirs was evidently the Occaſion of the Cardinal's Ruin.

A 21 *Hen.* 8

As to *Campeio*, he having no further Buſineſs in *England*, and finding a Storm ariſing, he thought fit to embark for *Italy*, ſoon after his return to *London*, but had the Mortification to have his Baggage ſearch'd by the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers; which tho' the King excus'd, as having been done by Miſtake or Inadvertency, it is generally ſuppos'd, that it was done by the King's expreſs Orders, either to recover the Decretal Bull, which the King did not then know was deſtroy'd, or ſome Letters or Evidence in the Cauſe, which had been ſent or communicated to the Cardinals; or rather, to diſcover whether there was any Evidence of *Wolſey*'s double Dealings to be met with among *Campeio*'s Papers.

Cardinal *Wolſey* was not unacquainted with the King's Prejudices, or his Reſolution to diſgrace him; nay, he knew the Attorney General had already exhibited an Information againſt him on the Statute of Premunire; however, his Eminence took no Notice of it, but went to *Weſtminſter-Hall* the firſt Day of the Term in as much State as ever, and heard Cauſes in the Court of Chancery. Two Days afterwards the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were ſent to demand the Great Seal of him; but having been conſtituted Chancellor for

The Cardinal ſits in the Court of Chancery.

for Life by Patent, he refus'd to deliver it till they brought an Order in Writing to resign it, which they did the Day following, and acquainted his Eminence, it was the King's Pleasure that he should quit *Whitehall*, and retire to *Esher*, or *Asher*, a Seat belonging to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, near *Hampton-Court*; whereupon the Cardinal resign'd the Great Seal into their Hands, and prepar'd for his Removal; in order to which, he first took an Account of his rich Furniture and Moveables, that he had committed to the Care of his Officers and Servants, among which, *Cavendish*, his Gentleman, relates, were a great many whole Pieces of the richest Silks and Velvets of all Colours, lying in a Gallery in *York-Place*, (*Whitehall*) that was hung with Cloth of Gold and Silver; and in the same Gallery were a thousand Pieces of fine Holland, and *the richest Copes I ever saw*, (says *Cavendish*) which were design'd for his Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*. Adjoining to this Gallery were two Rooms, in which there lay heap'd up an incredible Quantity of Gold and Silver Plate, with Books shewing the Form and Weight of every Piece. All which the Cardinal having order'd to be deliver'd to the King's Use, he said, *Tho' it had pleas'd the King to take his House ready furnish'd for his Pleasure, it was but just; for all that he had he receiv'd from his Majesty's Bounty.*

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The Great Seal taken from him.

An Account taken of his Plate and Moveables.

He orders them to be deliver'd to the King's Use.

The Cardinal being upon the Road to *Esher*, was overtaken by his Friend Sir *John Norris*, who came to him with a Message from the King, and acquainted his Eminence, that he was as much in his Majesty's Favour as ever, adding that the King advis'd him not to entertain any desponding Thoughts; for tho' his

The Cardinal receives a kind Message from the King.

*A.D.*1529 Majeſty ſeem'd to have dealt unkindly with him, it was more at the Importunity of other People than out of any Anger or Reſentment of his own: Whereupon, 'tis ſaid, the Cardinal immediately diſmounted, and kneeling down in the High-way in a Tranſport of Joy, gave Thanks to Heaven for this Return of his Majeſty's Favour: Which Action is generally cenſur'd by Hiſtorians as an Argument of a mean, puſilanimous Spirit, and even his Advocate, Dr. *Fiddes*, gives him up on this Occaſion, only by Way of Apology for him ſays, that as ſome great Generals of approved Bravery, have on certain Conjunctures loſt their uſual Courage and Preſence of Mind, ſo it might happen with the Cardinal at this critical Seaſon. But for my Part, I cannot look upon this Circumſtance as an Argument of a mean Spirit, if the Cardinal, who before apprehended his Ruin to be determin'd, on receiving a Meſſage to aſſure him of the Return of his Prince's Favour, immediately gave God Thanks upon the Spot; for what ſtronger Inducement cou'd he have to expreſs his Gratitude in the Face of the World to the great Diſpoſer of all Events than on his being reſcu'd, as he apprehended, from a State of extreme Want and Miſery, and again made eaſy and happy in his Circumſtances; and what was ſtill more, that he ſtood acquitted in the Opinion of his Sovereign of Inſincerity and Double Dealing, with which he had been charg'd by his Adverſaries; if theſe were not Motives ſufficient to make a Man break out into Tranſports of Joy and Thankfulneſs, it is not eaſy to conceive that any thing on this Side Heaven are. But after all theſe great Promiſes from the King, it appears that either

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His Behaviour upon it.

ther his Majesty meant nothing by them, or that Mrs. *Bolein* and the Cardinal's Enemies, defeated all his kind Thoughts and Intentions towards this his first Minister and faithful Servant. And indeed Courtiers seldom ruin one another by halves; they are conscious that Compassion in this Case frequently proves their own Destruction: We find the Cardinal therefore still remaining in the utmost Distress, notwithstanding he had been made to hope better Things from his Master. *Cavendish* relates, that when the Cardinal with his numerous Retinue came to *Asher*, they had neither Beds or Linnen, Dishes to eat their Meat out of, or Money to buy any, which occasion'd the Cardinal to write a most moving Letter to *Gardiner*, acquainting him with his Condition, and entreating him to learn what the King design'd to do with him; which is look'd upon as another Instance of the Cardinal's Meanness of Spirit; for here, say they, in the most abject Manner he apply'd himself to a Person who had been his Dependant for Relief; and in the Conclusion of his Letter says, *That he wrote it with a rude Hand, and a sorrowful Heart, subscribing himself, the most miserable Cardinal of* York. This, says Dr. *Fiddes*, is a memorable Instance of the Vicissitude of what we call Fortune; to see a great Minister, who for many Years had the Direction of the Government at home, and such an Influence in the Courts of the greatest Foreign Princes, that they perfectly dreaded him, and thought themselves happy if they cou'd gain his Favour; to see this Minister so reduc'd, that he shou'd, in the most abject Manner, prostrate himself before a Creature of his own making, must

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The Cardinal's great Want and Distress.

*A.D.*1529 *A.*21 *Hen.*8 be look'd upon as a judicial Act of Providence, to humble a Man who, with all his great Qualities, had been too much elated with Prosperity.

The Cardinal afflicted for the Distress of his Dependants.

But what was no small Part of the Cardinal's Affliction was the seeing his numerous and faithful Servants and Dependants reduc'd to a starving Condition with him. *Cavendish* relates, that when they were at *Ashur*, *Cromwel* desiring he wou'd consider of making some Provision for them, the Cardinal answer'd, *Alas*, Tom, *you know I have Nothing to give you or them, and am asham'd and sorry I cannot requite your faithful Services.* *Cromwel* afterwards proposing that his Chaplains, whom he had prefer'd to rich Benefices, of 500 and 1000 *l. per Annum* each, shou'd contribute towards the Subsistence of the meaner Servants, the Cardinal order'd them all to attend him in his Chamber, where, when he was about to speak to them, he burst out into Tears; nor was there a dry Eye among his Dependants, says my Author. At length, his Eminence having recover'd himself, said, He lamented he had not provided for them better in his Prosperity, though he might have incurr'd the Censure of the World if he had advanc'd too many of his own Servants; that the King was now pleas'd to take away all that he had, leaving him no more than the Cloaths on his Back, so that he had nothing to give them, and cou'd only thank them for their Services; yet as he was conscious he had serv'd his Prince with the utmost Fidelity, he desir'd they wou'd have Patience, for he did not doubt but when the King came to consider how groundless the Charge against him was, and that there was no Proportion

The Cardinal's Speech to his Servants after his Effects were seiz'd.

portion between the Punishment and the Offence, he should be restor'd to Favour again; and if he was, they wou'd not fail to participate his good Fortune; but if the King should not think fit to restore him, he would write to his Majesty, and the great Men of his Acquaintance, to retain them in their Service, who would not fail to accept of his Recommendation; after which *Cromwell*, with the Chaplains and Gentlemen of Fortune in the Cardinal's Retinue, made a Collection for the present Subsistence of the inferior Servants. *A.D.* 1529 — *A.* 21 *Hen.* 8

Some Account of the Cardinal's Dependants.

And here it may be pertinent to observe, from those Words of the Cardinal's, *that he wou'd recommend his Dependants to the King, and other Great Men, who would have a Regard to the Characters he gave them*, that the Cardinal's Family was a perfect Academy, that he entertain'd the greatest Genius's of the Age, and among them the Sons of several of the Nobility and Persons of Distinction, who improv'd themselves here in the Liberal Arts, and were afterwards employ'd, either in the Administration at Home, or in Foreign Negotiations. Such were most of the King's Ministers at this Time: Scarce any of them but what had been taken out of the Cardinal's Family, which was the Reason that Persons of Distinction were proud of having their Friends and Relations in his Retinue. Nothing could recommend a Person more to the Esteem of the World than to say he was educated in the Cardinal's Family, it being a Kind of a Seminary for Ministers of State, and the highest Ecclesiastical Preferments; and by this Means one would have thought the Cardinal shou'd have so firmly establish'd himself, that nothing cou'd have shaken him; and

*A.D.*1529 and had not the Reſentment of two Queens, of the Pope, the Emperor, and ſome of the
*21 Hen.*8 antient Nobility, particularly the great Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, all contributed to promote the Cardinal's Fall, he might have ſtood his Ground: as it was, we ſee the King frequently relenting, and upon the Point of reſtoring him; on which Account his Adverſaries politickly continu'd to baniſh him the Court, whereby he loſt his Majeſty's Ear, and his Influence on thoſe whom he had introduc'd into the King's Favour. But to proceed; it appears that *Hales*, the Attorney General, had, on the ninth of *October*, before the Cardinal left *Whitehall*, or reſign'd the Great Seal, exhibited an Information againſt him on the Statute of Premunire, for holding his Legate's Court by Virtue of the Pope's Authority, and deciding Cauſes there which ought to have been determin'd in the King's Court; and whether there was any Flaw in theſe Proceedings, or what other Reaſon is uncertain, the Attorney General preferr'd another Information againſt him for the very ſame Offences, on the twentieth of the ſame Month, being three Days after the Cardinal had reſign'd the Great Seal.

An Information preferr'd againſt the Cardinal on the Statute of Premunire.

Another on the ſame Statute.

The Cardinal finding that the King was reſolv'd to have him at his Mercy, and that the Letter of the Law was againſt him, notwithſtanding he had exercis'd his Legatine Power by his Majeſty's Conſent and Approbation, and even by the Royal Licenſe, duly executed in the Matter of the Divorce, he thought fit to confeſs he had incurr'd a Premunire, hoping thereby to move his Majeſty's Compaſſion, and that he wou'd not execute the Rigour of the Law upon him, and indeed

The Cardinal confeſſes he had incurr'd a Premunire on a Promiſe no Advantages ſhould be taken of it.

deed had reciev'd Assurances from his Majesty that he wou'd not; but however, Judgment was given against the Cardinal, that his real and personal Estate shou'd be seiz'd, that he shou'd be out of the King's Protection, and his Person imprison'd, the usual Sentence on incurring a Premunire; but the King, upon Application made to him in Behalf of the Cardinal when he was at *Eshur*, granted him his Liberty and Protection, impowering him to defend and prosecute Suits, notwithstanding his Conviction, and left him also in Possession of the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, ordering him a thousand Pounds, and four Waggon Loads of his Plate and Furniture, to be deliver'd him. *A.D.* 1529 — *A.* 21 *H.* 8. The King dispenses with the Judgment in Part.

At which the Cardinal's Enemies were so alarm'd, apprehending that the King wou'd at length recall him to Court, that the Parliament assembling on the 3d of *November*, 1529, they procur'd a Bill to be brought into the House of Peers on the first of *December*, to attaint the Cardinal of High Treason, and had Interest enough to get it pass'd in that House, without affording his Eminence an Opportunity of making his Defence, either in Person or by Council. This Bill was founded upon forty-four Articles, which being debated in the House of Commons, were shewn to have no Treason in them by the celebrated *Cromwell*, formerly a Dependant of the Cardinal's, and, to his everlasting Honour, had the Courage and Address to defend his old Master against the Fury of the new Ministry and the whole Body of Peers, and occasion'd the rejecting this Bill of Attainder by the Commons. A Bill of Attainder prefer'd against the Cardinal. The Articles against him. The Bill rejected by the Commons.

The

*A.D.*1529 — *A.*21 *H.*8.

The Substance of the Preamble and the most material Articles were, that the the Cardinal had taken upon him the Authority of the Pope's Legate *de latere*, subverted the Laws, and acted in Derogation of the Prerogatives of the Crown; particularly it is set forth in the first Article, that whereas the Kings of *England* had no Superior, and that no Legate from the Pope ought to execute his Legatine Authority in this Realm, yet the Cardinal of *York* had obtain'd Legatine Powers from his Holiness, and exercis'd them here to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Prerogative, the spoiling of many Religious Houses of their Goods and Substance, and had usurp'd also on the Jurisdiction of Prelates and Ordinaries. *How the admir'd* Rapin *therefore, who had read the Articles, could affirm that the Cardinal was not accus'd in the House of Lords of exercising the Authority of Legate, and that the Articles had no Relation to the Statute of Premunire, is very surprizing; the quaint Reflections he makes upon that Supposition, which has no Manner of Truth to support it, can be taken at best but as a very idle Amusements, and if he is charg'd on this Occasion with leading his Disciples into a manifest Error, it may be difficult to defend him.* See the 8th Edition of the Translation of *Rapin*, Vol. VII. p. 401.

Rapin's Misrepresentation of the Articles

The 4th Article charges him with joining himself with the King in his Letters to Foreign Princes and Ministers, saying, *the King and I wou'd have you do thus; the King and I give you our thanks*, &c. *using himself more like a Fellow to his Highness than like a Subject*; which Expressions, tho' they are not to be defended, yet are not near so insolent as that *Fox* charges him with, *viz. I and my King command you to do thus*,

thus, placing himſelf firſt, and making the King his Property, for which *Fox* had no Manner of Authority from theſe Articles, and which wou'd, no doubt, have been made Part of the Charge, if there had been any Colour for it. *A.D.1529* *A21 Hen.8*

The 6th Article charges, that notwithſtanding the Cardinal had the Great Pox broken out upon him, he came daily to his Grace, rowning in his Ear, and blowing upon him with his infectious Breath, and pretended that it was only an Impoſthume in his Hand.

The 16th charges him with ingroſſing the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs, and ſuffering no body to intermeddle but himſelf.

The 18th charges, that he uſurp'd the Ordinary's Juriſdiction, not ſuffering them to exerciſe it without extorting large Sums from them.

The 19th charges, that he had not only ſhamefully ſlander'd many Religious Houſes, and virtuous Men living in them, to the Pope, but had ſuppreſs'd above thirty of them, on ſuch Suggeſtions; and ſuch Houſes as had more than ſix or ſeven Monks belonging to them, tho' he was limited to that Number by the Pope's Bull.

The 20th, 21ſt, and 24th, charge him with exerciſing an exorbitant Power in the Court of Chancery.

The 25th charges him with viſiting moſt of the Monaſteries in *England*, and taking from them a 25th Part of their Revenues, contrary to Law.

The 26th, that he pretended his Son *Winter* ſpent 2700 *per Annum*, which he took to his own Uſe, and gave him but 200 *l. per Ann.*

*A.D.*1529 — *A.*21 *Hen.*8

The 28th, That whereas when he desir'd his Majesty's Assent to be *Legate a latere*, he promis'd, before the Peers, he wou'd attempt Nothing, by Virtue of his Legacy, contrary to the Royal Prerogative, or the Jurisdiction of the Ordinary, he had notoriously broken that Promise.

The 29th charges him with applying to the Pope for his Legatine Authority, upon an undue Suggestion, *that the Regular Clergy had given themselves up to a Reprobate Sense, to the Slander of the Church of* England.

The 34th charges him with keeping as great State as the King.

The 43d, that the *Lutheran* and other Heresies, reigning in the University of *Cambridge*, and certain Bishops being about to visit that University to restrain those Errors, the Cardinal commanded them to desist, and thereby encourag'd the spreading of Heresies in that Body.

The 44th charges, that by his outragious Pride he had long overshadow'd his Majesty's Honour, and by his insatiable Avarice to obtain Riches beyond measure, had by his manifold Extortions greatly impoverish'd his Majesty's Subjects.

The Bill of Attainder against *Wolsey* being thrown out by the Commons, as has been related, that House, by the King's Direction, took into their Consideration some Complaints that were made against the Clergy, relating to Exactions on the Probate of Testaments, to Mortuaries, Pluralities, Non-Residence, and the farming of Lands by Priests, which gave great Offence to the Ecclesiasticks, especially to *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, who in a Speech in the House of Peers asserted

Complaints in Parliament against the Clergy.

tha

that the Commons were for pulling down the Church, and that all this was for want of Faith, resembling the Case to that of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; of which the lower House being inform'd, demanded Satisfaction by their Speaker, and the Bishop was oblig'd in some measure to retract what he said. This occasion'd warm Debates in the House concerning the present State of Religion, wherein some asserted, that every private Man had the Liberty of judging for himself in religious Matters; and the Lord *Herbert* has given us a Speech, said to be spoken in the Lower House, to maintain that Assertion. * Upon another Debate in the House, concern- the extravagant Fees demanded on the Probate of last Wills, Sir *Henry Guildford* declar'd, that in the Legate's and Archbishop's Courts, it had cost him one thousand Marks to prove the Will of Sir *William Compton*, in the Year 1528; whereupon an Act pass'd for retrenching those Fees, and another for ascertaining Mortuaries: Ecclesiasticks also were disabled to take Farms, or to hold several Livings together, and were oblig'd to be resident; and at length an Act of General Pardon pass'd for all Offences (except Treason and Murder, Cases of Præmunire, and the Cardinal's Forfeitures) which the King granted in consideration of the Parliament's releasing him from a Loan of Money he had borrow'd of his Subjects. This fell very hard upon some of the Clergy, and particularly *Wolsey*'s Friends, who had been influenc'd by him to lend their Money to supply the King's Necessities in the

A.D. 1529
21 Hen. 8

Some Laws made relating to the Clergy.

A Pardon with Exceptions.

* Herbert's Complete Hist. *Vol.* II, *p.* 137.

*A.D.*1529 15th Year of this Reign. The reſt of the Acts of this Parliament will be found at the End of the Reign of *Henry* VIII.

*21 Hen.*8

I ſhould have taken Notice, that at the beginning of this Seſſion Sir *Thomas More* being made Lord Chancellor, was Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, and Sir *Thomas Audley* choſen Speaker of the Commons.

Articles of Peace between the Emperor and the *French* King

There had been ſign'd at *Cambray* the preceding Summer, *viz*, the 5th of *Auguſt*, 1529, a Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and *Francis* the *French* King; the principal Articles whereof were, that the Emperor ſhould not inſiſt on his Claim to the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, but that his Right however ſhould remain entire.

That King *Francis* ſhould pay the Emperor two Millions of Gold Crowns for the Ranſom of his Sons, and withdraw his Troops from *Italy*.

That *Francis* ſhou'd relinquiſh the Sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*.

That he ſhould reſtore the County of *Aſti*, and what he was poſſeſs'd of in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

That he ſhould relinquiſh his Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

That he ſhould marry Queen *Leonora*, the Emperor's Siſter, with whom he was to receive two hundred thouſand Crowns.

And that the Heirs of the late Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould be reſtor'd to all their Father poſſeſs'd. Beſides which, *Francis* oblig'd himſelf to pay the King of *England* two hundred and ninety thouſand Crowns, which the Emperor was indebted to him, and to redeem the rich Flower de Lis which the Emperor *Maximilian* had pawn'd to *Henry* VII. for fifty

fifty thouſand Crowns. But King *Henry* forgave King *Francis* the firſt Sum, and made a Preſent of the other to the Duke of *Orleans* his Godſon. *A.D.*1529 *A*21 *Hen.*8

Soon after the Concluſion of this Treaty, the Emperor left *Spain* and embark'd for *Italy*, and arriving at *Genoa* about the middle of *Auguſt*, the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Florentines*, and all the Princes and States of *Italy*, appear'd ready to ſubmit to his Pleaſure, having been deſerted by *France*, without any thing ſtipulated on their behalf. The *Venetians* were oblig'd to reſtore to the Pope, *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; and to the Emperor ſome Places they remain'd poſſeſs'd of in *Naples*. *Francis Sforza* was reſtor'd to his Dutchy of *Milan*, but oblig'd to pay the Emperor nine hundred thouſand Crowns. And on the 24th of *February*, 1530, the Emperor was was Crown'd by the Pope at *Bolonia*. The next Month he ſet out for *Germany*, in order to hold a Diet at *Auſburg*, to ſettle the Affairs of Religion in the Empire, and make Proviſion againſt the *Turks*, who were extending their Conqueſts every Day on the ſide of *Hungary*. The Emperor is Umpire of the Affairs of *Italy*. *A.D.*1530 *A*22 *Hen.*8 Crown'd at *Bologna*.

In purſuance of the above-ſaid Treaty of *Cambray*, the Emperor order'd the *French* King's two Sons to be deliver'd him on the 1ſt of *June*, at which time *Francis* paid to the Emperor's Officers twelve hundred thouſand Gold Crowns, and gave Security for the Payment of the remaining eight hundred thouſand Crowns; after which the *French* King ſolemniz'd his Marriage with Queen *Leonora*, the Emperor's Siſter. To enable *Francis* to make his firſt Payment, the King of *England* did not only give him up the Bonds The Sons of King *Francis* releas'd.

*A.D.*1530 Bonds the Emperor ſtood engag'd to pay *England*, but relinquiſh'd five hundred and twelve thouſand Crowns and upwards, which were due from *Francis* to the King of *England* upon other Accounts, upon no other Condition, than that if *Francis* violated the Alliance between the two Crowns, he ſhould ſtill be accountable for theſe Sums.

A. 22 *Hen* 8

K. *Henry*'s Generoſity to *Francis*.

While the Pope and the Emperor were at *Bolonia*, the King of *England* ſent another Embaſſy to his Holineſs, and with the Ambaſſadors, went Dr. *Cranmer*, who had been employ'd to write a Book to ſhew the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe; the Doctor urg'd every Argument that occurr'd to him, to the Pope in Perſon, to induce him to comply with the King, uſing his Holineſs with a great deal of Freedom, but all in vain. However, the King met with better Succeſs in his Application to the foreign Univerſities, as well as to thoſe of his own Kingdom, who ſeem'd unanimous in their Determinations, *That the King's Marriage with his Brother's Wife, was a Breach of the Divine Law, with which the Pope could not diſpence.*

The King applies again to the Pope, but invain.

He obtains the Opinions of the foreign Univerſities.

Theſe Opinions, according to Dr. *Burnet*, were obtain'd without giving the Members of any of the Univerſities any Promiſes or Hopes of Reward from the King's Agents, for which he cites Dr. *Richard Crook*, one of his Majeſty's Agents in *Italy*, who in a Letter from thence, ſays, *He never gave or promis'd any Divine any thing, till he had firſt freely written his Mind, and that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Preſent than a Reward*, viz. *two or three Crowns a Man, except ſome who wrote for the King, or had ſpent a great deal of Time in ſoliciting the King's Cauſe, and*

to

to such he had given thirty and forty Crowns a Man. From whence the Bishop infers, that they must have very prostituted Consciences, if they would be hir'd so cheap. But he acknowledges, that *Crook* in another Letter says, *That if he had Money enough, he did not doubt but he could get the Hands of all the Divines in* Italy, *for he found the greatest part of them mercenary* *. *A.D.* 1530 *A.* 22 *H.* 8 Whether by undue Means.

But at the same time, says Bishop *Burnet*, the Emperor rewarded and feed Divines at another Rate, giving one Friar *Felix*, who had written for the Validity of the Marriage, a Benefice of five hundred Ducats a Year, and another Writer on that side, a Benefice of six hundred Crowns.

However, Dr. *Fiddes* gives us some Transcripts from *Cavendish* and others, which render it doubtful whether there were not some indirect Practices us'd to obtain these Opinions. *Cavendish* says, 'The Commissioners 'to sollicite this matter were all delegated 'at the proper Costs and Charges of the King, 'which in the whole amounted to a great 'Sum of Money; and besides the Charge 'of the Embassage to the famous and notable 'Persons of all the Universities, especially 'to such as bare the Rule, or had the Custody of the Universty Seals, they were fed 'by the Commissioners with such great Sums 'of Money, that they did easily condescend 'to their Requests, and grant their Desires.

'By reason whereof, all the Commissioners 'return'd with their Purpose finish'd, ac'cording to their Commissions, under the 'Seal

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, *Vol.* I. *p.* 90.

*A.D.*1530 *A.*22*Hen.*8 'Seal of every ſeveral Univerſity; whereat 'there was no ſmall Joy conceiv'd of the 'principal Parties, inſomuch that ever after, 'the Commiſſioners were had in great Eſti- 'mation, highly advanc'd, and liberally 'rewarded, far beyond their worthy Deſerts, 'notwithſtanding they proſper'd, and the 'matter went ſtill forward, having now as 'they thought, a ſure Staff to lean upon.'

Biſhop *Taylor* * alſo ſpeaking of the Divorce, ſays, 'That this Queſtion was ſtrangely 'agitated, on Occaſion of *Henry* VIIIth's 'Divorce from Queen *Katherine*, the Relict 'of his Brother Prince *Arthur*, and according 'as the Intereſt of Princes uſeth to do, it 'very much employ'd and divided the Pens 'of learned Men, who upon that Occaſion 'gave too great Teſtimony, with how great a 'Weakneſs Men that have a Biaſs determine 'Queſtions, and with how great a Force, a 'King that is rich and powerful can make 'his own Determinations; for tho' Chriſten- 'dom was then much divided, yet before 'that time, there was almoſt a general Con- 'ſent upon this Propoſition, *That the Levi- 'tical Degrees do not by any Law of God, bind 'Chriſtians to their Obſervation.*'

Management at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* But whatever Arts were us'd in procuring the Opinion of the Univerſities abroad, it is very evident, no Stratagem or Artifice was neglected to bring over the two Univerſities at home (*Oxford* and *Cambridge*) to concur with the Court. Archbiſhop *Warham*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, wrote to *Oxford* on this Subject; and afterwards their proper

* Duſt. Dubit, *p.* 222. Fiddes, 435.

proper Biſhop, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the King's Confeſſor, was ſent down to them with Letters from the King himſelf, requiring the Members to concur with the foreign Univerſities, and not pertinaciouſly to adhere to any Prejudices they might have entertain'd againſt the Divorce. *A.D.* 1530 — *A.* 22 *H.* 8

The Heads, and Men of a longer ſtanding in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who had nearer Proſpects from Court, upon whom the Engines of it plaid more directly, or who, by Reaſon of an advanc'd Age, were grown timorous, Dr. *Fiddes* obſerves, came ſooner into the Meaſures preſcrib'd them; but the younger Members, whoſe Hopes and Fears were leſs influenc'd by Worldly Motives, could not readily be brought to concur with the Court, ſo that the Convocation broke up without coming to any Deciſion.

Whereupon the King wrote to the Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity in the Univerſity, acquainting them, that he was highly offended at the Inſolence of the Regents, and other Maſters, who had not, he ſaid, arriv'd at Years of Diſcretion, to qualify them to make a Judgment in ſo weighty a Caſe; and declar'd, if they neglected to conform to the Examples of the Doctors, and obſtinately oppos'd their Authority to that of the Sovereign Power, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible what it was to provoke it.

The Maſters, however, ſtill perſiſted in oppoſing the Divorce, and the Court could find no better Expedient to carry their Point, than the obliging Archbiſhop *Warham*, their Chancellor, to break through the Privileges of the Univerſity, and exclude the Maſters from the Convocation, in direct oppoſition

The Maſters excluded Voting at *Oxford*.

A.D.1530 to their Statutes, which provided, that all Acts of Convocation, without the Consent of the Masters, should be void. And the Chancellor directed the Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, or a select Number of them, finally to determine the matter; whereupon the University Seal was soon after put to the following Decision, *viz.*

An. 22 *Hen.* 8

That in the Judgment of the *whole* University and for a full Conclusion supported by the most strong and convincing Reasons upon the Question propos'd, they resolve, *That it is prohibited both by the Divine and Natural Law, that a Brother should marry the Relict of his Brother deceas'd without Children by her, and whose Marriage with her had been carnally consummated.*

There appears also to have been abundance of Management in procuring the Opinion of the University of *Cambridge*, as Bishop *Burnet* seems to acknowledge, and the Reason he assigns for the King's meeting with that Opposition from both his own Universities, is, because those who espous'd the King's Cause, were generally enclin'd to *Luther*'s Doctrine, as *Cranmer*, *Crome*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, *&c.* But Dr. *Fiddes* observes, that it was a more natural and generous way of accounting for this Difficulty, to say, that there were a great Number of Men in both Universities, who without any regard to foreign or temporal Considerations, were determin'd to judge according to the Light and Evidence of things, as upon a due and disinterested Enquiry, appear'd to them most just and reasonable.

Arguments against the Lawfulness of the

As to the Arguments against the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage with his Brother's Widow, some of the principal of them were,

That

That the Law in *Leviticus*, forbidding the Marriage of a Brother's Wife, was of a moral Nature, for which they produc'd the Authority of Fathers, of Councils, and of Popes themſelves, and inferr'd, that ſince this was a Breach of the Divine Law, the Pope could not diſpence with it, and as ſome Difference had been made, between a Marriage conſummated and one that was not, it was obſerv'd, that the Validity and Accompliſhment of a Marriage, did not neceſſarily depend upon the Conſummation, but upon the mutual Conſent of Parties; and upon this Account it was held, that there was a true Marriage between *Joſeph* and the bleſſed Virgin: That Councils, Fathers, and Divines, all made the Eſſence of Marriage to conſiſt in the Contract, and the moſt judicious of the Canoniſts were of the ſame Opinion. But however, the *Conſummation* of the Marriage, between Prince *Arthur* and the Princeſs *Katherine*, had been as well prov'd as a Fact of that Nature could be.

A.D. 1530
A. 22 *H.* 8
King's Marriage with his Brother's Widow.

Thoſe who argu'd on the Queen's ſide, *viz.* That the Marriage of a Brother's Wife was lawful, urg'd, that the Prohibition in *Leviticus* was not a Law of Nature, but only a poſitive Inſtitution, for *Moſes* had commanded the Brother to marry his Brother's Widow who ſhould die without Children, which demonſtrated that the Law might be diſpens'd with, and conſequently, however it might be preſcrib'd, *as a general Law of Convenience*, yet it was not abſolutely *a Law of Nature*, in a ſtrict Senſe; that before the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation there was no ſuch Law, for *Jacob* married two Siſters, and *Judah* married two of his Sons to one Woman, and offer'd

Arguments for the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

A.D. 1530 her a third; that by the antient Apoſtolical Canons, theſe Marriages were only prohibited to the Clergy; that the Laws which prohibited theſe Marriages, alſo prohibited thoſe within certain Degrees of Conſanguinity, and yet *Adam*'s Sons married their Siſters, and were under a Neceſſity of doing ſo, to continue their Species; that had this been an Immorality, God would never have render'd it *neceſſary* for the Preſervation of Mankind: They obſerve alſo, that *Abraham*, ſtil'd the Friend of God, married his Siſter, which would not have been permitted, without ſome Animadverſion upon it, had ſuch a Marriage been a moral Evil.

A. 22 *H.* 8

That the Popes, who condemn'd theſe Marriages, did not deprive themſelves of the Power of Diſpenſing with them in certain Inſtances; and that there had been, and were at that time, many Examples of Marriages within the *Levitical* Degrees, with which Popes had diſpens'd, and were thereupon acknowledg'd to be lawful Marriages.

A middle Opinion between the other two.

But there was ſtill a middle Opinion, which ſeems to have prevail'd among thoſe who were moſt diſintereſted, *viz.* That the *Levitical* Law, concerning the Degrees of Marriage, tho' it was not a Law of Nature, yet generally oblig'd *Chriſtians*; that it might be diſpenc'd with, however, on ſome important Reaſons; and as it had been diſpens'd with by the Pope in this Caſe, and *Henry* had married *Katherine*, by Virtue of ſuch Diſpenſation, and had liv'd near twenty Years with her as his Wife, he could not lawfully be ſeparated from her and marry another. But I refer the Reader to Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Hiſtory of the Reformation*, and Dr. *Fiddes*'s

Fiddes's *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, for further Satisfaction, where the Arguments for and againſt the Divorce may be ſeen at large *. And it is obſervable, that if the Pope's Diſpenſation had not been held ſufficient in thoſe Days, to render a Marriage within the *Levitical* Degrees lawful, the Legitimacy of moſt of the then Princes of *Europe* might have been queſtion'd, particularly the Emperor's and the King of *Portugal*'s, which would have put *Chriſtendom* into the utmoſt Confuſion, and ſeems to have been an unanſwerable Reaſon why his Holineſs ſhould never declare the Diſpenſation of his Predeceſſor, Pope *Julius* II. void, tho' he had not been influenc'd by the Emperor's Power in his Determination. *A D.* 1530 — *A* 22 *Hen.* 8

The King having obtain'd the Opinion of many of the foreign Univerſities, and of thoſe of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, under their reſpective Seals, caus'd a Remonſtrance to be drawn up, aſſerting the Juſtice of his Cauſe, which he caus'd to be ſign'd by Cardinal *Wolſey*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, four Biſhops, two Dukes, two Marquiſes, thirteen Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty-three Barons, twenty-two Abbots, and eleven other Perſons of Diſtinction. And *Cavendiſh* obſerves, that the Cardinal, his Maſter, ſign'd it with a great deal of Readineſs. This Remonſtrance bears Date the 13th of *July*, 1530, and is addreſs'd to the Pope, by the great Men above-mention'd, who entreat that his Holineſs would bring the King's Cauſe to a ſpeedy Determination, the Juſtice of it having been acknowledg'd

A Remonſtrance from the Nobility to the Pope.

* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. *Vol.* I. *p.* 90. Fiddes, 470.

*A.D.*1530 acknowledg'd by the moſt famous Univerſities, and other learned Men; they repreſent the many important Services the King and the *Engliſh* Nation had lately done for the Support of the Holy See, and of the preſent Pope in particular; and ſhew him what a Flood of Miſeries were like to break in upon the Nation, by Diſputes concerning the Succeſſion of the Crown, if the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage remain'd undetermin'd. They repeat their Inſtances therefore, that his Holineſs would ſpeedily confirm the Sentence given by the Univerſities, and moſt of the learned Men in *Chriſtendom*; which was but a Piece of Juſtice due to the King, who had ſo well deſerv'd of his Holineſs, and which if he refus'd or neglected any longer, they ſhould look upon themſelves to be abandon'd by him, and be oblig'd to redreſs the King's and their own Wrongs, by Means which might not be very acceptable to him.

*A.*22*Hen.*8

The Pope's Anſwer to the Remonſtrance of the Nobility.

The Pope, in anſwer to this Remonſtrance, obſerves, that the Nobility had charg'd him with two grievous Crimes, *viz.* Ingratitude and Injuſtice; he acknowledg'd indeed, that his Highneſs had deſerv'd very well of the Holy See, and that he himſelf was infinitely oblig'd to the King, but that he had been ſo far from denying the King Juſtice in the Controverſy concerning his Marriage, that he had been thought partial to him by the other ſide, in referring the Cauſe to two Cardinals, who were ſuppos'd to be under the Influence of his Highneſs; that his Holineſs could not refuſe to receive the Queen's Appeal from the Legates, and bring the Cauſe before the Conſiſtory; ſince when the King had

had retain'd no Proctor to appear for him there, which was the real Occaſion the Suit was not determin'd; nay, the King by his Ambaſſadors at *Bolonia*, had requeſted his Holineſs to delay the proceeding to Sentence, and therefore their Complaints on that Head were perfectly Groundleſs. *A.D.*1530 *A22Hen.*8

They could not expect he ſhould give Sentence for the King without hearing the Cauſe, notwithſtanding the Decrees of ſo many Univerſities in his Favour. What Offence muſt the other Party, and indeed all *Chriſtians*, take at a Sentence of Divorce thus haſtily given, from a Marriage that had continu'd ſo many Years, and which was contracted by the Diſpenſation of the Holy See, at the Requeſt of the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, and from whence the Queen had ſo many Children born; that the Decrees of the Univerſities they mention'd, had never come regularly under his Notice, or been exhibited to him by the King's Ambaſſadors or Agents, and ſeem'd to be but the Opinions of Men, who alledg'd no Reaſons for their Determinations, or ſupported them by the Authority of the Scripture, or the Canons; that tho' he ow'd much to his Majeſty, it could not be expected he ſhould paſs an unjuſt or raſh Sentence to oblige him; this would be the ready way to bring upon them the Calamities they fear'd: And as to their imagining themſelves abandon'd by his Holineſs, and at Liberty to ſeek Redreſs elſewhere, he exhorted them to abſtain from any ſuch raſh Attempt, for he had never denied them any Remedies which might with Safety be adminiſter'd, or with Advantage receiv'd, and his Affection to his Highneſs was ſuch, that there needed

no

*A.D.*1530 no Entreaty or Solicitation to influence or quicken it; that when the Cauſe was ready for his Examination, it ſhould meet with no Delays from him, but be brought to a ſpeedy Determination, being very deſirous to free himſelf and the King from this moſt troubleſome Affair: But he muſt deſire, both of his Highneſs and them, that they would not require more of him, on Account of the King's Merits towards the Holy See, than he could perform without offending God, and then they might aſſure themſelves of all that he could do for them, conſidering the Office he bore, and the Juſtice he was indiſpenſibly bound to adminiſter. Dated 27th *September*, 1530, in the 7th Year of his Pontificate.

*22 Hen.*8

The Cardinal reſides at *Richmond*, has a Pardon and part of his Effects reſtor'd him.

In the mean time, the Cardinal not having his Health at *Eſher*, had prevail'd on the King to permit him to remove to the Palace of *Richmond*, which his Majeſty had given him, upon the Cardinal's making him a Preſent of *Hampton-Court*. The King alſo granted the Cardinal a moſt ample Pardon, dated 12 *February*, 1530, ſpecifying all manner of Crimes he could poſſibly have been guilty of, neither Treaſon or Felony being excepted. But at the ſame time the King inſiſted, that the Cardinal ſhould voluntarily relinquiſh the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and of the Abby of St. *Albans*, to him, together with *York-Place*, or *Whitehall*, and left him in Poſſeſſion only of the Archbiſhoprick of *York*, of all his Preferments, a Penſion of a thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* iſſuing out of the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and the Value of ſix thouſand three hundred and ninety-five Pounds out of his Perſonal Eſtate, conſiſting of the following Articles, (*viz.*)

(*viz.*) 3000 *l.* in Money; 9565 $\frac{1}{8}$ Ounces of Plate, at 3 *s.* 8 *d.* *per* Ounce, amounting to 1753 *l.* 12 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$; Apparel and Houſhold Stuff, amounting to 800 *l.* fourſcore Horſes with their Furniture, valued at 150 *l.* ſix Mules for the Saddle, with their Furniture, at 60 *l.* ſix Mules for his Baggage, with their Furniture, 60 *l.* Salt Fiſh, to the Value of 90 *l.* eight Waye of Salt, 10 *l.* Implements for the Kitchen, 80 *l.* ſeventy Sheep, valu'd at 12 *l.* fifty-two Oxen, at 80 *l.* and wearing Apparel, to the Value of 300 *l.* Which Particulars are inſerted, to ſhew the Value of Money and Proviſions in thoſe Days, and the Grandeur the Cardinal liv'd in, even after his Diſgrace; tho' this was but an inconſiderable Part of the Wealth the King had ſeiz'd, being valu'd at five hundred thouſand Crowns and upwards, according to Biſhop *Burnet*. *A.D.* 1530 — *A* 22 *Hen.* 8

Even the Revenues of the Cardinal's Colleges, tho' actually convey'd to thoſe Societies and their Succeſſors ſeveral Years before, were ſeiz'd to the King's Uſe; for it appears, that the Inquiſition his Majeſty caus'd to be taken in moſt of the Counties of *England*, for the Diſcovery of the Cardinal's Eſtate, had a Retroſpect as far back as the fifteenth of the King's Reign, when his Eminence is charg'd with having incurr'd a Præmunire, and thereby forfeited all his Lands and Tenements to the Crown, ſo that whatever Settlements or Alienations had been made of them after that time, were adjug'd void; tho' as the Cardinal had never any other Right or Intereſt in the Revenues of the Monaſteries, which were ſuppreſs'd to endow his Colleges, than what was transferr'd to him

The Cardinal's Colleges ſeiz'd.

A.D. 1530 him by the Pope and the King, only *in Truſt* for that Uſe, and they had been convey'd to the Uſe of thoſe Colleges accordingly, it ſeems to be a very high Strain of the Prerogative, to make theſe affected by any Crime the Cardinal had committed; nor did any thing touch him more ſenſibly than his Majeſty's ſeizing theſe, which he had Reaſon to believe, nothing but a lawleſs Force could deprive thoſe Societies of.

A22 Hen.8

Wolſey entreats the King to ſpare his Colleges.

We find him writing to the King, as on his Knees with weeping Eyes, that the College at *Oxford* might ſtand, importuning *Cromwel*, that as he had a Share in eſtabliſhing that College, he would interceed with his Majeſty to ſpare the Work of his own Hands. To which *Cromwel* anſwer'd, that his Majeſty was determin'd to diſſolve his Colleges; tho' whether he meant to reſtore them again, and found them in his own Name, he knew not; for this, it ſeems, both *Fox* and *Cromwel* had propos'd to the King, as the moſt likely Means to ſave the College at *Oxford*, and accordingly that was afterwards refounded in part, tho' not upon ſo noble a Plan, or endow'd with thoſe large Revenues the Cardinal at firſt aſſign'd for that Purpoſe.

But notwithſtanding theſe Mortifications, the King frequently ſent the Cardinal kind Meſſages, and other Marks of his Favour, and made even Mrs. *Bolein* ſend him a Preſent of a Tablet of Gold that ſhe wore, which made his Enemies very apprehenſive of his being recall'd to Court; whereupon, under Pretence that there were like to be ſome Diſturbances in the North of *England*, they propos'd the Cardinal's removing from *Richmond* to

to his Archbiſhoprick of *York*, where he might be inſtrumental in keeping things quiet; to which his Majeſty conſented, and his Eminence was order'd to prepare for his Journey to *Yorkſhire*, which he put off from time to time, wiſely foreſeeing that his Enemies wou'd have a great Advantage of inſinuating things to his Prejudice when he ſhould be remov'd ſo far from Court, and at laſt he pretended that he could not ſtir for want of Money; whereupon the King order'd him a thouſand Pounds, and he was oblig'd to ſet forwards in the Beginning of the Summer, 1530, with a Retinue that ſtill conſiſted of an hundred and ſixty Perſons, and above ſeventy Carts for his Baggage. In this Journey the Cardinal render'd himſelf extremely popular by his affable Behaviour, his Devotion, and the Alms he every where diſtributed to the Poor; inſomuch that the People reſorted to him in Crowds from all Parts, and ſeem'd to pity the hard meaſure he had met with.

A.D. 1530 — *A.* 22 *Hen.* 8

The Cardinal ſent to *Yorkſhire*.

His popular Behaviour in the North.

He mov'd forwards by ſuch ſlow and eaſy Stages, that he made it the End of *September* before he arriv'd at *Caiwood-Caſtle*, 12 Miles from *York*, a Palace belonging to the Archbiſhoprick; here he convers'd familiarly with the neighbouring Gentry and the Clergy of his Dioceſe, and propos'd to reſide while Preparations were made for his Inſtalment in the Cathedral of *York*. In the mean time, as he ſeem'd to have devoted himſelf to Works of Piety and Charity, and treated all Mankind with Humanity and Condeſcention, his former Pride was in a manner forgotten, and all the World reconcil'd to him; but whether his Enemies had inſinuated that theſe popular Arts tended to reproach his Majeſty's Uſage of him,

A.D. 1530 or that they inferr'd from hence he had Designs againſt the Government, the Cardinal had been but little more than a Month at *Caiwood Caſtle*, when he was arreſted for High Treaſon by that very Earl of *Northumberland* who had formerly been his Domeſtick, and whom his Eminence had exaſperated by breaking off the Match between him and Mrs. *Anne Bolein*. The Cardinal's Phyſician, Dr. *Auſtin*, alſo was arreſted, and ſent to *London* with his Legs ty'd under his Horſe's Belly; but what the Nature of the Treaſon was with which they were charg'd, does not appear, the Cardinal dying upon the Road. Certain it is, no body was ever try'd for it; from whence it is preſum'd his Eminence was innocent. Had he been guilty of any Practices againſt the Government, he muſt have had ſome Accomplices, who would probably have been call'd to an Account. But to be a little more particular. The Cardinal began his Journey towards *London* on the 8th of *November*, and was by the King's Orders convey'd to *Sheffield-Caſtle*, a Seat of the Earl of *Shrewſbury*'s, Steward of the King's Houſhold, where he remain'd a Fortnight. Here the Earl of *Shrewſbury* let the Cardinal know, that he was ſtill in the King's Favour, and that tho' he might ſuffer him to be brought to his Trial, it was more to ſatisfy other People, than out of any Suſpicion he entertain'd of his plotting againſt the Government. But the Cardinal became ſo dejected at this Uſage of his Majeſty's towards him, one Day ſuffering his Eminece to be proſecuted, and another declaring himſelf his Friend, as he had done more than once, that it is thought to have had an Effect upon his Health.

A 22 *Hen.* 8

He is apprehended for High Treaſon.

Health. He was taken ill with the Cholick, which was follow'd by a Dyſentry; but deſiring however to proceed in his Journey to *London*, in order to manifeſt his Innocence, he with great difficulty advanc'd as far as *Leiceſter-Abby*, where the Abbot and Monks coming out to receive him, he ſaid, *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones amongſt you*, and accordingly dy'd there on the 28th of *November*. In his laſt Moments our Hiſtorians relate, that he ſaid among other things, *If I had ſerv'd God as diligently as I have done my King, he would not have given me over in my Grey Hairs*; from whence Biſhop *Burnet*, according to his wonted Humanity, affirms, *that the Cardinal acknowledg'd he preferr'd the King's Favour to God Almighty's*, adding, *that he was unworthy of his Greatneſs, and deſerv'd what he ſuffer'd*. This is the modeſt Cenſure of that very moderate Prelate; but poſſibly the Biſhop's Reflections on the Cardinal may be deem'd too ſevere, if we conſider the Occaſion of thoſe Words his Eminence *is ſaid* to have ſpoken on his Death-Bed (for it is not improbable that they were miſ-recited) the Cardinal lay under a heavy Charge of High-Treaſon, which was countenanced by a Prince whom he had ſerv'd faithfully; and as he was conſcious of his Fidelity and Innocence, what does he do more in theſe Words, than declare the Ingratitude of his Maſter, whom he had ſerv'd Night and Day with the utmoſt Diligence, to the neglecting, perhaps, ſome Duties he ought to have attended as an Eccleſiaſtick. And where is the Man that has not neglected his Duty to God, at ſome time or other, to attend ſecular Affairs: If the Biſhop did

A.D. 1530

A. 22 *Hen.* 8

He is taken ill and dies.

The Cardinal's dying Words miſ-conſtrued.

*A.D.*1530 *A.*22*H.*8. did not, he was a happy Man; but if he did, a good-natur'd Man wou'd not infer from thence, *that he preferr'd the Favour of his Prince to God Almighty's.* As to the Cardinal's Character, I ſhall refer the Reader to Dr. *Fiddes*, who has collected and ſuggeſted every thing that can be ſaid on that Head to the Advantage of his Eminence, and reſcu'd his Memory in a great Meaſure from the Calumnies his Enemies had thrown upon him; only it may be proper to take Notice here, of what both Biſhop *Godwyn* and the Doctor obſerve concerning the King's unſteady and unaccountable Conduct towards the Cardinal while he was in Diſgrace, one Day threatening him, and ſeizing his Eſtate and Effects, and then returning Part of them again, and pretending to be perfectly reconcil'd. The Deſign of this, ſay thoſe Writers, was to make the Cardinal do what Archbiſhop *Cranmer* did afterwards, *viz.* pronounce the Sentence of Divorce in his Majeſty's Favour, without, and even againſt the expreſs Command of the Court of *Rome*; and they aſcribe it to the Cardinal's Virtue and Conſtancy, that he was neither to be brib'd or terrified to paſs Judgment in a Matter that he apprehended belong'd to a ſuperiour Juriſdiction; tho' it was evident the Cardinal had done all that lay in his Power, to induce the Pope to give Sentence for the King, or permit his Legates to determine the Suit in *England.* But how hardly ſoever the King had us'd *Wolſey* in his Lifetime, he pretended to be under a great Concern at his Death. As the King had projected the throwing off the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, and had already iſſu'd a Proclamation againſt the receiving or publiſhing any Bulls that might

The Reaſon of the King's unſteady Conduct towards the Cardinal in Diſgrace.

might affect his Prerogative, possibly he pro- A.D. 1530
pos'd to have wrought either upon the Car- 22 Hen. 8
dinal's Hopes or Fears, and made him instru-
mental in the Change he was bringing about;
tho' there is Reason to believe, if the Cardi-
nal had refus'd to concur with him in all his
Projects, he wou'd at last have sacrific'd him
to his Enemies. I take this Charge of High
Treason therefore to be design'd as a Sword
pointed at the Cardinal's Head, to terrify
him into the King's Measures. His Ma-
jesty's seeming Affection for his Eminence at
certain Intervals, was evidently never sincere:
he propos'd nothing more by these Shews of
returning Favour, than to make the Cardi-
nal subservient to his Schemes. But to return.

As the Transactions which happen'd in *Germany* about this time had a considerable Influence on the Affairs of *England*, it will be necessary to take a short View of what was doing on that side; and it appears that the Emperor having call'd a Diet at *Spires*, a Decree was made, that there shou'd be no Innovations in Matters of Religion; those who were already *Lutherans* might remain such, and be allow'd the Exercise of their Religion; but that none of the *German* Princes should hinder their Subjects from going to Mass who desir'd it. But this did not please the *Lutheran* Sovereigns; whereupon the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Princes of *Lunenburg*, *protested* against the Decree, and from thence the *Lutherans*, and all the Reformed, were denominated PROTESTANTS. The following Year the Emperor held another Diet at *Ausburg*, where Cardinal *Campeio*, the Pope's Legate, exhorted

Religious Affairs in *Germany*.

The *Lutherans* first call'd Protestants.

*A.D.*1530 horted the *Germans* to ſupreſs thoſe Hereſies
*A.*22*Hen.*8 that had lately appear'd in *Germany*. This induc'd the Proteſtants to deſire they might make a Confeſſion of their Faith before the Diet, which they were permitted to do in Writing, and this has ever ſince obtain'd the Name of THE CONFESSION OF AUSBURG; but the Diet afterwards publiſh'd a very ſevere Decree againſt the Proteſtants, who were ſtill more incens'd by the Emperor's propoſing to make his Brother *Maximilian* (King of *Hungary*) King of the *Romans*, which the Proteſtants vigorouſly oppos'd, alledging that this was the Way to render the Imperial Crown Hereditary; but their Remonſtrances on this Head not being regarded, they aſſembled at *Smalcald*, on the 22d of *December*, 1530, and concluded a Defenſive Alliance againſt all Perſons who ſhou'd moleſt them on Account of Religion, proteſting at the ſame Time againſt the Election of a King of the *Romans* without their Concurrence; and this Alliance of the Proteſtant Princes was afterwards call'd *The Smalcaldick League*, from the Town were the Treaty was made. About the ſame Time there happen'd a Miſunderſtanding between the Emperor and the Pope, on the Emperor's awarding the Towns of *Modena* and *Regio* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, of which *Francis* the King of *France* taking Advantage, enter'd into a Treaty with his Holineſs, and in order to bring him into the Intereſts of *France*, offer'd to marry the Duke of *Orleans*, his ſecond Son, to *Katherine de Medicis*, Daughter to *Lorenzo* Duke of *Florence*, the Pope's Niece.

The *Auſburg* Confeſſion.

The *Smalcaldick* League.

*A.D.*1531
*A.*23*Hen.*8

A Treaty between the *French* King and the Pope.

King *Henry* in the mean time finding his Subjects (at leaſt thoſe of the Laity) very ready to

to concur with him in throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, did not think it worth his while any longer to court his Holineſs, but determin'd to ſeek that Redreſs at Home which had been refus'd him at *Rome*. In order to which he ſummon'd a Parliament to meet on the 6th of *January*, which was open'd by a Speech of the Lord Chancellor's, wherein he declar'd, that the King being convinc'd of the Illegality of his Marriage with his Brother's Widow, intended to get it annull'd, not with any diſhonourable Views, as had been maliciouſly ſuggeſted, but purely to ſatisfy his Conſcience, and to procure the Peace and Welfare of his Dominions, by ſettling the Succeſſion of the Crown ſo as there might be no Room to controvert it hereafter. At the ſame time the Books that had been publiſh'd concerning the Divorce, and the Determinations of the Univerſities on that Head, were laid before both Houſes, and afterwards the Opinion of the Convocation was demanded, who appear'd ready to decide the Matter in Favour of the King; but this wou'd not ſatisfy him, he order'd the ſuperior Clergy to be indicted on the Statute of Præmunire for ſubmitting to the Legatine Power, and bringing Cauſes before that Court, which ought by the Laws of *England* to have been try'd either at Common Law, or in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts of this Realm; and tho' this had certainly been done with the King's Concurrence, and even by his Authority, and it wou'd have been in vain for the greateſt Prelate to oppoſe it, as was evident in the Caſe of Archbiſhop *Warham*, who complaining to the King, that Wills which ought to be prov'd in his Court, and Teſtamentary Cauſes,

A.D 1531

A. 23 *Hen.* 8

The Buſineſs of the Divorce brought before the Parliament and Convocation.

The Clergy condemn'd in a Præmunire.

*A.D.*1531 *A*23 *Hen.*8

were carried into the Legate's Court, was oblig'd to accommodate the matter with *Wolsey*, and suffer his Encroachments in a great Degree: Notwithstanding this, did the King order the Clergy to be prosecuted in a Præmunire, for submitting to the Legate; and the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* were oblig'd to buy their Peace at the Price of an hundred thousand Pounds, (it cost the Province of *York* also eighteen thousand Pounds and upwards, to obtain the like Pardon,) which so alarm'd the Laity, that the Commons at first insisted that they might be included in the Act of Pardon, before it pass'd their House; and tho' the King did not think fit to comply with them therein, yet he soon after granted the Laity another Pardon, being unwilling to exasperate both the Clergy and Laity at once, by so unjust and tyrannical a Proceeding.

The Clergy purchase a Pardon.

The abovesaid Grant of an hundred thousand Pound, which the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* made the King, was founded on the following Inducements, *viz.* The King's great Merit; their Gratitude for the Services he had done the Church, and particularly his Zeal against the *Lutherans*, who were endeavouring to destroy the Church of *England*, *Of which they acknowledg'd his Majesty the sole Protector and Supreme Head.* Great Opposition being made to the Title that was given to the King of *Supreme Head of the Church* in this Grant, *Cromwel*, and several of the Privy Council, came into the Convocation, and let them know that his Majesty would look upon them as his Enemies, who oppos'd the giving him that Title. Whereupon the Grant pass'd as it had been drawn

The King stil'd Supreme Head of the Church

drawn up, only this Reſtriction was added, *As far as is conſiſtent with the Laws of Chriſt.* And thus modell'd it was aſſented to by nine Biſhops, (of whom *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was one) fifty-two Abbots and Priors, and the lower Houſe of Convocation. The Monaſteries and Colleges being excepted out of the Pardons, granted both to the Clergy and Laity, were oblig'd to compound with the King's Officers ſeverally, by which his Majeſty alſo rais'd conſiderable Sums. *A.D.* 1531 *A* 23 *Hen.* 8 The Monaſteries proſecuted.

In this Parliament, beſides the Act of Pardon, paſs'd ſeveral others, for regulating the Woollen Manufacture; repairing of Bridges; ſuppreſſing of *Ægyptians*, or Gypſies; regulating Sanctuaries; and another for making it High-Treaſon for any Perſon to Poiſon another: Which laſt was occaſion'd by *Rouſe*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Cook, poiſoning a Pot of Broth, which occaſion'd the Death of ſeveral People, and amongſt them ſome that came for Alms to the Biſhop's Gate. *Rouſe* was attainted and boil'd to Death in a Cauldron of hot Water. The reſt of the Acts of this Seſſion will be found at the end of the Reign. Acts paſs'd. Poiſoning made High Treaſon.

After the riſing of the Parliament, the King caus'd the Decrees of the Univerſities, and the Opinions of the Learned concerning the Divorce, to be printed and diſpers'd among the People; and he ſent ſome Biſhops and Temporal Peers to the Queen, to perſuade her to conſent to a Divorce, or to refer the Matter to four Biſhops and as many Temporal Lords; and the Queen refuſing to comply with his Majeſty, he took his final Leave of her at *Windſor* on the 14th of *July*, and gave her the Liberty of retiring to The King takes his final Leave of the Queen.

*A.D.*1531 *A*23 *Hen.*8

which of his Manors she saw fit. Whereupon she remov'd first to *Moor*, but afterwards resided at *Ampthill* in *Bedfordshire*.

The King having in a manner thrown off the Pope's Supremacy, those who enclin'd to a Change in Religion imagin'd there was no Necessity of concealing their Opinions, and every where endeavour'd to make Proselites; which the King observing, soon gave them to understand, that he had no Intention to establish any new Doctrines contrary to those that were already receiv'd, by ordering the Laws against Hereticks to be put in Execution: Whereupon *Thomas Bilney*, Batchelor of Law, who had been several times convicted and relaps'd, was burnt the 19th of *August*, as *Bayfield*, a Monk of *Bury*, was on the 27th of *November*, and the *April* following, *Baynam*, a Lawyer, underwent the fiery Trial.

The Laws against Hereticks put in Execution. *Bilney*, *&c.* burnt.

It was observ'd of *Wolsey*, that whatever other Faults he might have, there were scarce any Protestants suffer'd during his Administration, and tho' he was perfectly devoted to the *Romish* Church, he rather prevented than promoted the putting in Execution the Laws against Hereticks, as the Protestants were then call'd; nay, we find his opposing Inquisitions against Hereticks, made one of the Articles in the Bill of Attainder that was brought in against him; of which Bishop *Burnet* does not take the same Notice as he does of another Article intended to defame him.

Few suffer'd during *Wolsey*'s Administration.

The Emperor, with his Brother *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, (lately elected King of the *Romans*,) having enter'd into an Offensive Alliance with the rest of the *Roman* Catholick Princes

Princes in *Germany*, for extirpating the Protestants, the latter sent to the Kings of *England* and *France*, imploring their Protection, which the two Kings promis'd them, not with any Design to promote the Reformation, as our Historians observe, but in order to give the Emperor some Diversion, whose encrease of Power they look'd on with jealous Eyes. These Monarchs enter'd into a more strict Alliance also in *June* the following Year, in order to defeat the Emperor's Projects, and had an Interview in *October*, between *Calais* and *Bologn*, at which *Anne Bolein* was present, and by the Advice of *Francis*, 'tis said, King *Henry* married her at *Calais* on the 14th of *November*, tho' others affirm, that the King did not marry her till the 25th of *January*, after he was return'd to *England*.

A.D. 1531 — *A.* 23 *Hen.* 8

The Kings of *England* and *France* promise the *German* Protestants Assistance.

A.D. 1532 — *A.* 24 *H.* 8

The King marries *A. Bolein.*

The Emperor from this Interview concluding that an Alliance was form'd against him by the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the *Turks* at the same time attacking him on the side of *Hungary*, thought fit to reconcile himself to the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; in order to which he assembled a Diet at *Ratisbone*, where it was decreed, that no Person should be molested on account of Religion till a Council was call'd. Whereupon the Protestant Princes joining their Troops with the Catholicks, the Emperor form'd an Army of thirty thousand Horse and eighty thousand Foot, with which he found himself in a Condition to defend his Country against the Infidels, and compell'd them to retire without coming to a Battel.

The Emperor reconciles himself to the Protestants.

But to return to *England*. The Parliament being assembled on the 15th of *January*, the

A.D. 1532 the Commons addreſs'd the King to reſtrain and abridge the Power of the Clergy, which they apprehended to be the Occaſion of many of their Grievances. The King anſwer'd, that he would firſt hear what the Clergy had to ſay in their Defence, and then proceed to a Reformation. And I don't find that any Acts paſs'd in this Seſſion to the Prejudice of the Eccleſiaſticks, unleſs that which reſtrains the Benefit of the Clergy in Caſes of Felony, to thoſe who were actually in Orders; and another to prevent Perſons being Cited and Excommunicated in the Arches, or Archbiſhops Courts, upon frivolous Occaſions. But the Parliament, in order to ſhow their Readineſs to throw off the Authority of the See of *Rome*, paſs'd a third Act, prohibiting the paying Annates, or the firſt Fruits of Biſhopricks, to the Pope, for the obtaining of Palls, Bulls, *&c.* The Preamble whereof recites, that great Sums of Money were from time to time carried out of the Realm on theſe Pretences, whereas Annates were at firſt granted for maintaining Forces againſt the Infidels, to which Uſe they were ſeldom or never applied; it was enacted therefore, that Annates ſhould ceaſe for the future, and that there ſhould only be paid five Pounds in the Hundred for Bulls, according to the annual Value of the reſpective Biſhopricks; and if ſuch Bulls ſhould be refus'd by the Pope, the Biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the King to the Archbiſhop, to be Conſecrated, and if the Archbiſhop refus'd the Conſecration, then any two Biſhops appointed by the King, might proceed to Conſecrate the Biſhop elect, who ſhould immediately be put into the full Poſſeſſion of his Biſhoprick.

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The Parliament addreſs againſt the Clergy.

An Act againſt paying Annates.

But

A.D. 1532
A. 24 Hen. 8

But it was provided, that the King might either confirm or annul the Act, and accommodate matters with the Court of *Rome*, as he thought fit. And if the Pope refus'd to come to an amicable Agreement with his Majesty, and disturb'd the King or his Subjects by Interdicts or Excommunications, such Acts should not be publish'd in the Kingdom or regarded, but the Clergy should continue to celebrate Divine Service, and perform all Parts of their Function notwithstanding; which was, in effect, renouncing the Pope's Authority, and was look'd upon as a very important Step towards bringing about a Reformation.

Enacted that the Pope's Censures should not be regarded.

There was however a Party in the House of Commons that oppos'd the breaking with the Pope, and apprehending the Divorce would contribute to it, *Tense*, one of the Members, mov'd to address the King in a Body, to be reconcil'd to the Queen; which his Majesty receiving Advice of, sent for Sir *Thomas Audley* the Speaker, and let him know he was highly incens'd they should suffer such a Motion to be made in their House.

The Pope complaining not long after, of the Act prohibiting the Payment of Annates, was told, he might have prevented it by doing the King Justice, and still his Majesty had it in his Power, either to confirm or abrogate the Act, as he found his Holiness enclin'd.

Sir *Thomas More*, the Lord Chancellor, tho' he had appear'd zealous in abridging the Pope's Power in some Instances, yet foreseeing there was like to be a total Separation from the See of *Rome*, which he did not approve, thought fit to resign the Great Seal on

Sir *Thomas More* resigns the Great Seal.

*A.D.*1532 on the 16th of *May*. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Audley* was made Lord Keeper, and on the 26th of *September*, conſtituted Lord Chancellor.

*A.*24 *Hen.*8 which is given to Sir *Thomas Audley*.

In the mean time the Pope, at the Inſtance of the Emperor, determin'd to cite the King to appear at *Rome*; whereupon his Majeſty ſent Dr. *Edward Karne* thither, as his Excuſator; but the Pope refus'd to admit him in that Character, there being no Precedent for it. However, the King's perſonal Appearance was diſpens'd with, and it was intimated to him, that he might ſend a Proxy to *Rome* to defend his Cauſe. The Pope alſo made ſome Overtures to his Majeſty, of having the Matter determin'd in ſome indifferent Place, by a Legate and two Auditors of the *Rota*; but the King did not think fit to hearken to the Pope's Propoſals, and made a formal Proteſt, importing, that he was under no Obligation to appear at *Rome*, either Perſonally or by Proxy. The King, however, afterwards made ſome Propoſals to his Holineſs, of having the Cauſe tried by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and two other Biſhops, or by all the Clergy of *England*; and if the Queen appeal'd, three Perſons, one to be choſen by his Holineſs, and the other two by the Kings of *France* and *England*, ſhould determine the Appeal; to which the Pope would not agree, but on the 4th of *October* cited his Majeſty to appear at *Rome*, either in Perſon or by Proxy.

The King is cited to appear at *Rome*.

This Year the King enlarg'd and beautified the Palace of *Whitehall*, which he had compell'd Cardinal *Wolſey* to ſurrender to him, tho' it belong'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *York*; he ſeiz'd alſo on the Convent at St. *James*'s, allowing

Whitehall and St. *James*'s enlarg'd and beautify'd.

allowing the Sisters an annual Pension, and converted it into a Palace. The Fields that lay between St. *James*'s and *Whitehall* he enclos'd, and made a Park for his Pleasure; and as his Title to the whole was defective, he caus'd it afterwards to be confirm'd by Act of Parliament.

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24&25 *H*8

A Parliament held.

The following Year, the Parliament assembling on the 4th of *February*, an Act was made for settling the Price of Meat, *(viz.)* Beef and Pork at a Halfpenny a Pound, and Veal at three Farthings a Pound Averdupois Weight; another Act, that Persons indicted for killing Highwaymen or Housebreakers, should be acquitted, and forfeit neither Lands or Goods; and a third for restraining the Excess of Apparel.

Prices of Meat settled.

An Act to indemnify Persons for killing Robbers.

But the most material Act which pass'd this Sessions, was that which prohibits all Appeals to *Rome*, or elsewhere out of the Kingdom; in the Preamble whereof it is recited, that the Crown of *England* was an Imperial Crown, and the Nation a compleat Body within itself, impower'd to administer Justice in all Cases both Spiritual and Temporal, and that in the Spiritualty, as there had been at all Times, so there were then, Men of that Sufficiency and Integrity, that they might declare and determine all Doubts within the Kingdom, and that several Kings, as *Edward* I. *Edward* III. *Richard* II. and *Henry* IV. had by several Laws preserv'd the Liberties of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, from the Annoyance of the See of *Rome*, and other foreign Potentates; yet many Inconveniencies had arisen by Appeals to the See of *Rome*, in Causes of Matrimony, Divorces, and other Cases, which were not sufficiently provided

An Act prohibiting Appeals to *Rome*.

A.D.1533 24&25 H8 againſt by theſe Laws; by which, not only the King and his Subjects were put to great Charges, but Juſtice was much delay'd by Appeals, and *Rome* being at ſuch a Diſtance, Evidences could not be brought thither, nor Witneſſes, ſo eaſily as within the Kingdom; therefore it was enacted, that all ſuch Cauſes, whether relating to the King or any of his Subjects, ſhould be determin'd within the Kingdom, in the ſeveral Courts to which they belong'd, notwithſtanding any Appeals to *Rome*, or Inhibitions and Bulls from *Rome*; whoſe Sentences ſhould take effect, and be fully executed by all inferior Miniſters; and if any ſpiritual Perſons refus'd to excute them, becauſe of Cenſures from *Rome*, they were to ſuffer a Years Impriſonment, and Fine and Ranſom at the King's Will; and if any Perſons in the King's Dominions, procur'd or executed any Proceſs or Cenſures from *Rome*, they were declar'd liable to the Pains in the Statute of Proviſors, in the 16th of *Richard* II. But that Appeals ſhould only be from the Archdeacon or his Official to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs or his Commiſſary, and from him to the Archbiſhop of the Province, or the Dean of the Arches, where the final Determination was to be made without any further Proceſs, and in every Proceſs concerning the King, or his Heirs and Succeſſors, an Appeal ſhould lie to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, where it ſhould be finally determin'd, never to be again call'd in Queſtion.

The See of *Canterbury* being vacant at this time by the Death of Archbiſhop *Warham*, which happen'd on the 23d of *Auguſt*, 1532, the King had determin'd to prefer Dr. *Cranmer* to the Archbiſhoprick, who was then in *Germany*;

Germany; but *Cranmer*, 'tis ſaid, declin'd it all he could, and delay'd his coming over into *England*, in hopes his Majeſty would alter his Mind; he was apprehenſive, poſſibly, that the King would oblige him to pronounce the Sentence of Divorce, and combate the Pope in other Inſtances, and perhaps, ſacrifice him afterwards as he had done *Wolſey*. It was certainly a very critical Time to fill the See at *Canterbury*, and he might very well expect to be cruſh'd, either by the King or the Pope, according to the Turn things ſhould take; there is no Reaſon therefore to ſuſpect *Cranmer* to be guilty of Hipocriſy, when he expreſs'd ſome Reluctance in accepting the See of *Canterbury*. But however averſe he might be to this Promotion, the King laying his Commands on him in a manner, to accept this high Promotion, he thought fit at length to comply; and in *January* 1533, the King ſent to *Rome* for the uſual Bulls, requir'd to inveſt him with that Dignity, nor did the Pope refuſe them, tho' he knew *Cranmer* enclin'd to the *Lutherans*, and that he had in many Inſtances diſputed his Authority, neither did he inſiſt on the Annates or firſt Fruits of the Biſhoprick, but accepted the Sum of nine hundred Ducats in lieu of all Fees, ſo cautious was his Holineſs at this time, of coming to a Rupture with *England*. Theſe were the laſt Bulls that were receiv'd in *England*, and were eleven in Number; by one Bull, he is, upon the King's Nomination, promoted to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which is directed to the King; by a ſecond, directed to himſelf, he is made Archbiſhop; by a third, he is abſolv'd from all Cenſures; a fourth is to the Suffragans; a fifth to the

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Cranmer ſucceeds Archbiſhop *Warham*.

He receives his Bulls from *Rome*.

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Dean and Chapter; a ſixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*; a ſeventh to all the Laity in his See; an eighth to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as Archbiſhop; all theſe bear Date the 21ſt of *February*, 1533: By a ninth Bull, dated the 22d of *February*, he was ordain'd to be conſecrated, taking the Oath that was in the Pontifical; by a tenth Bull, dated the 2d of *March*, the Pall was ſent him; and by an eleventh of the ſame Date, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhop of *London*, were requir'd to put it on him. Theſe, Dr. *Burnet* obſerves, were the Artifices of the See of *Rome* in thoſe Days, to enrich the Apoſtolick Chamber.

Cranmer ſcruples the Oath to the Pope

The Bulls arriving in *England*, Dr. *Cranmer* was conſecrated on the 13th of *March*; but his Scruples in taking the Oath to the Pope, had like to have prevented his Preferment; he ſaid, there were many things requir'd by the Pope's Laws, which ought to be reform'd, and that this Oath would reſtrain him from doing his Duty to God, the King, and the Church. Whereupon the Canoniſts were conſulted, who advis'd, that before the Archbiſhop took the Oath, he

His Proteſt on taking the Oath.

ſhould make a formal Proteſt, that he did not intend thereby to reſtrain himſelf from doing any thing he was bound to do, either by his Duty to God, his King, or his Country, and that he renounc'd every thing in it that was oppoſite to theſe. Which Proteſt he made in St. *Stephen*'s Chappel, before his Conſecration, and at the time of his taking the Oath. But this, Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, agreed better with the Maxims of the Canoniſts

nonists than *Cranmer*'s Sincerity; however, if he did not wholly save his Integrity, says the Bishop, yet it was plain he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above-board. What Construction soever the World put upon this Conduct of *Cranmer*'s, he was no sooner made Archbishop, but the King brought the Case of his Marriage with *Katherine* of *Spain*, before the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, who declar'd on the 5th of *April*, that the Pope had no Power to dispense with the King's marrying his Brother's Wife, which was contrary to the Law of God; and that the Consummation of Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage with that Princess, had been prov'd as well as a thing of that Nature could be. The Province of *York* also pass'd the same Judgment on the 13th of *May* following.

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The Convocation give Judgment for the King.

In the mean time *Henry* wrote to the *French* King, desiring him to send over a Person he could confide in, that he might communicate to him some matters of Importance. Whereupon the Lord *Bellay* was sent to *England*, who let King *Henry* know, that a Marriage was agreed on, between the Duke of *Orleans* and the Pope's Niece, *Catherine de Medicis*, and that the *French* King, and his Son the Duke, were to have an Interview with the Pope at *Marseilles*, to solemnize the Marriage; and intimated, that it might be to *Henry*'s Advantage, if he would meet them at *Marseilles*, and endeavour to accommodate matters with the Pope, or if he did not think fit to be there in Person, he advis'd him to send a Minister thither; but the King answer'd, that the Pope having refus'd to do him

The *French* invites *Henry* to an Interview with the Pope at *Marseilles*.

*A.D.*1533 him Juſtice, he had already privately married *Anne Bolein*, and determin'd to have his Marriage with the Princeſs *Katherine* declar'd Void, by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Accordingly, the King having made his laſt Marriage publick, he granted a Licenſe to *Cranmer*, to hold a Court at *Dunſtable*, (within five or ſix Miles of Queen *Katherine*'s Reſidence) and to cite both their Majeſties before him; and they were accordingly ſummon'd to appear at *Dunſtable* on the 20th of *May*, whither the King ſent his Proxy; but the Queen took no Notice either of the firſt, ſecond, or third Citation with which ſhe was ſerv'd, and thereupon was declar'd *Contumax*. Then all the Evidence was produc'd which had been brought before the Legates, with the Determinations of the Univerſities and learned Men, and the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces; which being duly conſider'd, Sentence was paſs'd by the Archbiſhop, by the Advice of the Biſhops and Doctors there preſent, declaring, *That the King's Marriage with the Princeſs* Katherine *was a Marriage* de Facto, *but not* de Jure, *and therefore he pronounc'd it Null from the beginning*. And it appears, that the Archbiſhop in this Sentence, ſtiles himſelf *Legate of the Apoſtolick See*; which Biſhop *Burnet* ſeems to inſinuate, was a Title which of Courſe belong'd to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; but however that be, we find that the firſt Legates of the See of *Rome* in *England*, were uſually Archbiſhop's of *Canterbury*, and ſome of thoſe Prelates complain'd they had Injuſtice done them, when the Pope made any other Legates in *England*. But to proceed.

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The King publiſhes his Marriage with *A. Bolein.*

Cranmer adjudges his firſt Marriage with *Katherine* Void.

proceed. *Cranmer*, on the 28th of the ſame Month of *May*, at *Lambeth*, by another Judgment, confirm'd the King's Marriage with *Anne Bolein*, (without giving any Reaſons for it in his Sentence,) and ſhe was Crown'd Queen on the 1ſt of *June*. *A.D.*1533 *A.*25 *Hen.*8

Cranmer confirms the King's Marriage with *Anne Bolein*.

Various Cenſures were paſs'd on theſe Proceedings; ſome ſaid that the King ought to have let the Sentence of Divorce have preceded his ſecond Marriage, for the Validity of it might probably be controverted hereafter, becauſe it was contracted before the firſt was annull'd. But others held, that the Marriage having been adjudg'd void from the Beginning by the *Engliſh* Convocations, and moſt of the Univerſities of *Europe*, there was no need of any Sentence, but only for Form's Sake; and all, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, concluded, there had better have been no Sentence than one ſo late.

Various Opinions on theſe Proceedings.

The King having acquainted Queen *Katherine* with the Sentence of Divorce, by the Lord *Montjoy*, who was order'd to uſe ſome Arguments to induce her to acquieſce in it, that Princeſs anſwer'd, She ſhould look upon herſelf as the King's Wife till the Pope had annull'd her Marriage: And the King ordering her for the future to be ſtil'd Princeſs Dowager of *Wales*, ſhe refus'd to admit any Perſon into her Service who refus'd to ſtile her Queen of *England*, at which his Majeſty thought fit to connive for the preſent.

Queen *Katherine* order'd to take the Stile of Princeſs Dowager of *Wales*, but refuſes.

Soon after the King notified his ſecond Marriage to the ſeveral Princes of *Europe*, and among the reſt to the Emperor, who only anſwer'd the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, that he ſhou'd conſider

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consider what Measures were proper to be taken on the Occasion, or to that effect.

The Pope annuls *Cranmer*'s Sentence.

The Pope receiving Advice of the Archbishop's Sentence, and that the King had compos'd a Book which struck at his Authority, 'tis said, fell into a Passion, and being incited by the Cardinals of the Imperial Party, annull'd the Archbishop's Sentence, and declar'd the King and the Archbishop liable to Excommunication, if the Cause was not restor'd to its former State before *September* next; but having an Interview soon after with the *French* King at *Marseilles*, whither his Holiness went to solemnize the Nuptials between the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Niece *Katherine de Medicis*, the *French* King had brought him to such a Temper, that all Differences between the Pope and *Henry* were in a fair Way of being adjusted, and the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent Ambassador to *Marseilles*, to wait the Event of those Conferences between King *Francis* and his Holiness; but while that Nobleman was on his Journey thither, *Henry* hearing that the Pope had annull'd *Cranmer*'s Sentence, and declar'd him liable to Excommunication, *Norfolk* was recall'd, and *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, with Sir *Francis Brian*, and Dr. *Edmond Bonner*, were sent to *Marseilles* to demand Justice of the Pope, and in Case of Refusal, to exhibit the King's Appeal, and Archbishop *Cranmer*'s, to a General Council, which so exasperated his Holiness, that *Bonner*, who shew'd the greatest Forwardness on this Occasion, was threatned to be boil'd in melted Lead, or burnt at the Stake, which so terrified this Doctor, that he made his Escape from *Marseilles* as fast as he could.

The King and *Cranmer* appeal to a General Council.

The

The Pope soon after proceeded to cause his Sentence for annulling that of the Archbishop to be set up at *Dunkirk*, which so provok'd *Henry*, that he issu'd a Declaration, setting forth, 1. That he had appeal'd from the Pope to a General Council, and the Justice thereof. 2. The Unlawfulness of *Katherine*'s Appeal to *Rome* against the late Statute, which prohibited all such Appeals, a Transcript whereof was fix'd upon every Church-door in *England*, and dispers'd in *Flanders*. 3. He order'd it to be taught and publish'd, that a General Council is above the Pope, and that the Bishop of *Rome* had no more Authority in *England*, by the Law of God, than any other Bishop; and about the same time treated with the Protestant Princes in *Germany* concerning the forming an Alliance against the Pope and the Emperor, and actually transmitted several large Sums to them. *A.D.* 1534 *A.* 26 *H.* 8.

The King makes fresh Overtures to the Pope for a Reconciliation

However, the King acquainted *Bellay*, the Bishop of *Paris*, whom *Francis* had sent over to *England* to endeavour to accommodate Matters between *Henry* and the Pope, that if his Holiness would suspend the Execution of his Sentence, his Majesty also wou'd suspend his throwing off the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*, and still submit the whole Matter to the Pope and Consistory, provided the Cardinals in the Imperial Interest should have no Vote; which Overture the Bishop apprehended wou'd be so acceptable to the Court of *Rome*, that tho' it was now the *Christmas* Holidays, and the Depth of Winter, he undertook to carry the glad Tidings himself, and was extremely well receiv'd by the Pope, who promis'd that the Cause shou'd be adjudg'd at *Cambray*, by Persons whom his Majesty shou'd

Which are accepted.

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have no Reaſon to except againſt, provided that the King wou'd make this Conceſſion under his Hand, and a Day fix'd for the Return of the Meſſenger, who was to be ſent to *England* to ſee it ſign'd; and a Meſſenger was ſent to *England* accordingly, in Purſuance of this Reſolution, who ſaw the Submiſſion ſign'd. In the mean time the Parliament aſſembling on the 15th of *January*, among other Acts, paſs'd one for attainting *Elizabeth Barton* the Nun, uſually call'd *the Maid of Kent*, and her Accomplices, of High Treaſon, in conſpiring againſt the King's Life.

The Parliament aſſembles.

The Nun or Maid of *Kent*, attainted of High Treaſon.

She was originally an Inhabitant of the Village of *Aldington* in *Kent*, and being ſubject to Hyſterical Fits, which diſtorted her Limbs and Features, ſhe ſaid many things that carried an Air of Piety and Devotion in thoſe Fits, and was generally taken by the People of the Neighbourhood to be inſpir'd, of which *Richard Maſter*, the Vicar of the Pariſh, being inform'd, propos'd to make great Advantages, as 'tis ſaid, and taught her to counterfeit Trances, and inveigh againſt the Wickedneſs of the Times, and particularly againſt Hereſy, and Innovation in Religion. * *Maſter* afterwards confederating with

* *Several Books were written of her Revelations and feign'd Miracles, compos'd by* Bocking, Maſter, Dering, *and one* Thwaites. *Some of her Revelations ſhe declar'd before the Pope's Orators, and had gone on in this way eight or nine Years before ſhe was apprehended, travelling from one Convent to another. She had the Aſſurance to deliver ſome of her pretended Revelations before the King, Cardinal* Wolſey, *Archbiſhop* Warham, *Biſhop* Fiſher, *and Sir* Thomas More, *who ſeem'd to doubt whether ſhe was an Impoſtor or not, and had ſhe not meddled with Affairs of State, and particularly with the Divorce, which touch'd the King ſo nearly, ſhe wou'd probably have met with no Interruption from the Government, but might have paſs'd for a Saint and a Propheteſs to this Day.*

Strype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 182.

with Dr. *Bocking*, a Canon of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, they perſuaded her to chuſe *Bocking* for her Confeſſor, and to remove to the Nunnery of *St. Sepulchre's* in *Canterbury*, where ſhe took the Habit, and pretended to propheſy, *that if the King proceeded in the Divorce, and married another Wife, he ſhou'd not ſurvive it a Month, but ſhou'd die a Villain's Death*; and ſhe gain'd ſuch Credit at length, that Archbiſhop *Warham*, Sir *Thomas More*, and Dr. *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, convers'd with her in Perſon, and ſent their Chaplains to attend her; but none countenanced her more than the *Franciſcan* Monks, who publiſh'd theſe pretended Revelations of the Nun's in their Sermons all over the Kingdom; nay, it is related that one of theſe Monks preaching before the King at his Palace of *Greenwich*, had the Aſſurance to denounce heavy Judgments againſt him to his Face, telling his Majeſty, *that many Lying Prophets had deceiv'd him, but he, as a true* Micaiah, *warn'd him, that the Dogs ſhou'd lick his Blood, as they had done* Ahab's. They alſo encourag'd Queen *Katherine* to ſtand it out, and not ſubmit to the King: At which his Majeſty was at length ſo provok'd, that in *November*, 1533, he order'd *Elizabeth Barton*, the pretended Propheteſs, and her Accomplices, to be apprehended and brought before the Star-chamber, *(viz.) Richard Maſter*, Dr. *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold*, *Edward Thwaites*, and *Thomas Laurence*; and here, before a great Appearance of Lords, they all confeſs'd the Cheat, without being put to the Torture: Whereupon they were order'd to ſtand expos'd in St. *Paul's* during Divine Service, and read their reſpective Confeſſions, which they did, and were

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She propheſies the King's Death, if he proceeded in the Divorce.

The Monks inſult the King to his Face.

The Nun and her Accomplices confeſs the Cheat.

*A.D.*1534 afterwards committed to the Tower; but the Nun and the reſt pretending afterwards that they were terrified into thoſe Confeſſions, the King brought the Matter before this Parliament, as has been related, and the Nun, with *Maſter*, *Bocking*, *Deering*, *Richard Risby*, and *Henry Gold*, were attainted of High Treaſon, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Gold*, *Thomas Laurence*, *Edward Thwaites*, *John Addiſon*, and *Thomas Abel*, her Confederates, were adjudg'd guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. Sir *Thomas More*'s Name was at firſt inſerted in the Bill of Attainder; but upon his Submiſſion, and the Application of his Friends, it was ſtruck out, as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* wou'd have been, if he had ſubmitted; but none of the Conſpirators were condemn'd to die by any other Court of Juſtice before the Bill of Attainder paſs'd, as Mr. *Rapin* aſſerts by Miſtake.

26 Hen. 8

But pretend they were terrified into it.

Which occaſion'd their Attainder in Parliament

Biſhop of *Rocheſter* adjudg'd guilty of Miſpriſion.

Rapin miſtaken.

The Nun, with *Maſter*, *Bocking*, *Deering*, *Risby*, and *Gold*, were executed at *Tyburn* on the 20th of *April*, where the Nun declar'd that ſhe juſtly deſerv'd to die, tho' theſe who ſuffer'd with her, ſhe ſaid, were much more to blame; they were learned Men, but ſhe a poor illiterate Wench, whom they prais'd beyond Meaſure, becauſe they profited by what ſhe feign'd, and ſuggeſted to her that it was the Holy Ghoſt and not ſhe that ſpake; that ſhe being puffed up with their Praiſes, thought ſhe might feign what ſhe wou'd, and that had brought her into this Condition. She begg'd God's and the King's Pardon, and deſir'd the Prayers of the Multitude.

The Nun &c. executed.

Her Confeſſion.

The King alſo, to ſhew his Reſentment againſt the Obſervant Friars, who principally encourag'd this Impoſtor, expell'd from their Houſes

The King expels the *Franciſcan* Monks from ſeveral Convents.

Houſes thoſe of *Richmond*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcaſtle*: And the Inſolence of thoſe Friars is ſuppos'd to be one of the principal Inducements the King had for ſuppreſſing the reſt of the Monaſteries, where Viſions and Miracles were too often pretended to advance the Intereſt of the Monks in general, or of their reſpective Houſes. *A.D.* 1534. *A.* 26 *Hen.* 8.

Beſides this Act of Attainder againſt the Nun and her Accomplices, there paſs'd ſeveral others of great Importance this Seſſions, and particularly an Act concerning the Puniſhment of Hereſy, whereby the Act of 2 *Hen.* IV, which impowers the Ordinary to apprehend and impriſon any Perſon he *ſuſpects* of Hereſy, is repeal'd, but the Statutes of 5 *Richard* II, and of 2 *Hen.* V, for the Puniſhment of Hereſy, are confirm'd; only it is provided that no Perſon be apprehended and impriſoned by the Ordinary for the future without Preſentment or Indictment in the Courts Leet, or ſuperior Courts of Law, or by the Teſtimony of two Witneſſes; and provides alſo, that every Perſon accus'd, indicted or preſented for Hereſy, may be admitted to Bail by two Juſtices of Peace; nor ſhou'd the ſpeaking againſt the Pope, or his pretended Power, or againſt any other ſpiritual Laws which were repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, be deem'd High Treaſon; but the Offence of Hereſy was ſtill to be try'd by the proper Ordinary, as before.

An Act that none ſhou'd be proſecuted for Hereſy without Preſentment or Indictment *&c.* in the Courts of Law.

Juſtices of Peace empower'd to bail Perſons accus'd of Hereſy.

Another Act paſs'd, requiring the Submiſſion of the Clergy to the King's Majeſty, the Preamble whereof recites, that the Convocations of *Canterbury* and *York*, had not only acknowledg'd, that they always had been, and ought to be, aſſembled by the King's

The Convocations Submiſſion to the Regal Power.

A D. 1534. *26 Hen.* 8.

King's Writ; but ſubmitting to the King's Majeſty, had promis'd (*in Verbis ſacredotii*) that they would never for the future, enact, promulge, or execute any Canons or Conſtitutions provincial, without the King's Royal Aſſent or Licenſe firſt had. And the ſaid Convocations had beſought his Highneſs, that the Conſtitutions and Canons of the Church might be committed to the Examination and Judgment of his Highneſs, and thirty-two of the King's Subjects, *viz.* ſixteen of the Temporalty out of the two Houſes of Parliament, and ſixteen of the Clergy of the Realm, the whole thirty-two, to be appointed by his Highneſs, who ſhould have Power to abrogate and annul any of the Conſtitutions or Canons of the Church, and to confirm ſuch of them as they ſhould find agreeable to the Laws of God and the Kingdom, with the King's Aſſent. Whereupon it was enacted, that in purſuance of the ſaid Submiſſion and Petition of the Clergy, that they ſhould not for the future enact, promulge, or execute any Canons or Conſtitutions provincial, or other Canons without the King's Licenſe, or Aſſemble in Convocation without the King's Writ, on Pain of Impriſonment, and Fine at the King's Pleaſure.

Transfer their Power of abrogating and confirming the Canons to thirty-two Commiſſioners.

Their Submiſſion confirm'd by Parliament, and a Penalty added.

It is further Enacted, that the King ſhall appoint thirty-two Perſons to review the Canons, and determine which of them ſhall be in Force, according to the ſaid Petition.

The King empower'd to appoint the thirty-two Commiſſioners.

It is alſo Enacted, that the Act made in the laſt Seſſions, prohibiting Appeals to *Rome*, ſhall be confirm'd; that Appeals in Spiritual Cauſes ſhall be proſecuted in the Archbiſhops Courts within this Realm, and if Juſtice is not

The Act prohibiting Appeals to *Rome* confirm'd.

not done there, an Appeal ſhall lye to the Court of Delegates, the Members whereof to be appointed by the King, under the Great Seal, whoſe Determination ſhould be final. And all Perſons ſuing Appeals to *Rome*, or executing any Proceſs from thence, ſhould incur a Præmunire. *A.D.* 1534. *A.* 26 *Hen.* 8. The Court of Delegates made the laſt Reſort in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes.

Monaſteries exempted from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, were to appeal to the Court of Delegates; and it is provided, that ſuch Canons and Conſtitutions as are already made, and are not repugnant to the Laws of the Realm, or the King's Prerogative, ſhall be in force, till they are review'd by the ſaid thirty-two Commiſſioners. Canons to remain in Force till review'd.

Another Act was made for confirming an Act of the laſt Seſſions, ſo far as it prohibits the Payment of Annates to *Rome*, and directing in what manner Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould be elected, inveſted, and conſecrated for the future. The Act prohibiting the Payment of Annates confirm'd.

Particularly the King is impower'd, on the Vacancy of an Archbiſhoprick or Biſhoprick, to grant to the Prior and Convent, or the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church, a Licenſe under the Great Seal, to elect an Archbiſhop or Biſhop, with a Letter containing the Name of the Perſon they ſhall chuſe, and they ſhall accordingly chuſe the Perſon nam'd, and no other. And in default of ſuch Election, the King is impower'd to preſent ſuch Perſon, if a Biſhop, to the Archbiſhop, to be Conſecrated, (and if he be an Archbiſhop, to the other Archbiſhop and two Biſhops, or to four other Biſhops whom the King ſhall name,) who ſhall Conſecrate the Elect, without any Pall, Bulls, or other Inſtruments from *Rome*; and the Biſhop elect, Biſhops to be elected on a Conge de Elire, and conſecrated without applying to *Rome*, on pain of a Præmunire.

on

*A.D.*1534 *A*26*Hen.*8

on taking the Oaths to the King, ſhall be Inſtall'd, and the Temporalties of the Biſhoprick reſtor'd him; and every Prior and Convent, Dean and Chapter, Archbiſhop and Biſhop, refuſing or neglecting to perform their reſpective Offices, in Electing or Conſecrating ſuch Biſhop, nominated or preſented by the King as aforeſaid, to incur a Præmunire.

An Act prohibiting Peter-pence, and all other Payments to the See of *Rome*.

Another Act was made for diſcharging the King's Subjects from Exactions and Impoſitions of the See of *Rome*, and granting Licenſes and Diſpenſations within the Realm.

Whereby it is Enacted, That no Penſions, Cenſes, Portions, or Peter-pence, ſhall be paid for the future to the Biſhop of *Rome*, uſually call'd the Pope, or to his Chamber Apoſtolick.

And impowering the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to grant Licenſes, Diſpenſations, Faculties, *&c.*

And it is further Enacted, That all Licenſes, Diſpenſations, Compoſitions, Faculties, Grants, Reſcripts, and Delegacies, which have of late been granted by the See of *Rome*, either to the King or his Subjects, ſhall for the future be granted by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or his Deputy, ſo that ſuch Licenſes, *&c.* are not repugnant to the Law of God.

Licenſes of Conſequence to be confirm'd by the Great Seal.

Provided, that no ſuch Diſpenſation, Licenſe, Faculty, *&c.* be put in Execution by the Archbiſhop, his Deputy or Commiſſary, where the Charges for the Expedition thereof at *Rome*, amounted to the Sum of four Pound, till the ſame be confirm'd by the King under the Great Seal.

Children of Marriages contracted by ſuch Licenſes legitimate.

And it is further Enacted, That all Children, procreated after Solemnization of any Marriages, by Virtue of ſuch Licenſes or Diſpenſations, ſhall be deem'd Legitimate.

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And if any Perſon ſhall for the future, ſue to *Rome* for any Licenſe, Faculty, Diſpenſation, &c. or execute any ſuch Licenſe, &c. or ſhall obey any Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſs from *Rome*, he ſhall incur a Præmunire.

Perſons applying to *Rome*, or obeying Proceſs from thence, incur a Præmunire.

And laſtly, That the King, in Council, ſhall have Power to order, redreſs, and reform all Indulgences heretofore granted by the See of *Rome*, and all Abuſes of ſuch Indulgences.

The King impower'd to reform Indulgences.

An Act alſo paſs'd, to limit the Succeſſion of the Crown to the Iſſue of his Majeſty by Queen *Anne*.

An Act to limit the Succeſſion of the Crown.

Whereby it is Enacted, That the Marriage between the King and the Lady *Katherine*, (being before his Brother Prince *Arthur*'s Wife, and carnally known by him,) was againſt the Law of God, and therefore Void; and that the ſaid Lady *Katherine* ſhould from thenceforth be reputed only Dowager to Prince *Arthur*, and not Queen of this Realm; and that the Marriage between the King and Queen *Anne*, ſhould be eſtabliſh'd and deem'd perfect, according to the Judgment of *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded on the Acts of Convocation, the Decrees of the Univerſities, &c.

The King's Marriage with *Katherine* adjudg'd void.

And that with Q. *Anne* good.

And it is further Enacted, That no Man for the future marry within the *Levitical* Degrees, and thoſe who were then married within ſuch Degrees, ſhould be ſeparated by the Sentence of the reſpective Biſhops, &c.

Marriage prohibited within the *Levitical* Degrees.

The Crown is afterwards entail'd on the King's Male Iſſue by Queen *Anne* ſucceſſively, according to their Seniority; and in default of Males, to the Lady *Elizabeth* and her

The Crown entail'd on the King & Queen's Male Iſſue.

*A.D.*1534 her Iſſue; and in default of ſuch Iſſue, to the reſt of the King's Female Iſſue by Queen *Anne*, according to their Seniority; and for want of ſuch Iſſue, to the King's right Heirs. And it is made High-Treaſon to print or write any thing to the Slander of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, or to the Slander and Diſheriſon of their Heirs, or to endeavour to defeat the Succeſſion of the Crown as above limited. Thoſe who offend in like manner, *by Words only*, to be guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. And all the King's Subjects are requir'd to take an Oath, to maintain and defend the ſaid Succeſſion, and to obſerve the Tenor of this Act in all other Reſpects, on Pain of being adjudg'd guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon.

26 Hen. 8 Rem. to the Female Iſſue. High-Treaſon to write againſt this Act. Miſpriſion to ſpeak againſt it. An Oath requir'd to obſerve it.

Second Marriage prohibited only where the former was conſummated.

Provided always, that the Article in this Act contain'd, concerning Prohibitions of Marriages within the *Levitical* Degrees, ſhall be expounded of ſuch Marriages, where Marriages were ſolemniz'd, and carnal Knowledge was had.

There were ſeveral other Acts made this Seſſion, which will be found at the end of the Reign. The Parliament riſing on the 30th of *March*, the King receiv'd Advice a few Days afterwards, that on the 23d of *March*, the Pope had pronounc'd Sentence againſt him, declaring his Marriage with *Katherine* good, and requiring him to take his Wife again, and had denounc'd Cenſures againſt him in Caſe of Diſobedience. *Rapin* indeed affirms, that the King receiv'd Intelligence of the Pope's giving Judgment againſt him long before, which was the Occaſion of making the above-recited Acts. But this is impoſſible to be true, becauſe ſeveral of thoſe Acts

The Pope gives Sentence againſt the King.

Rapin miſtaken about the Time of paſſing the above Acts.

Acts were brought in the beginning of *February*, and the Parliament ſat but till the 29th or 30th of *March*; whereas the Pope's Sentence againſt the King, according to Biſhop *Burnet*, was not pronounc'd till the 23d of *March*, ſix Days before the Parliament roſe; and ſhould it be admitted poſſible, that a Courier might come from *Rome* within the Space of ſix Days, yet can it be ſuppos'd that ſo many long Acts of ſuch Importance, were all brought in, read three times in both Houſes, and receiv'd the Royal Aſſent in one Day, as they muſt, if they were not brought in till the King receiv'd Advice of the Pope's Sentence? It is objected indeed, that the King would never have promoted theſe Acts, before he knew the Pope had rejected his Submiſſion, becauſe he had no Provocation to do it, and it was the way to render the Pope irreconcileable. But this Argument ſeems to turn the other way; the King had only ſubmitted to the Pope conditionally, that he ſhould give Sentence for the Divorce, and from the Experience he had of his wavering fickle Diſpoſition, he apprehended, poſſibly, that the moſt infallible way of keeping the Pope ſteady to that Engagement, was to ſhew him, that the People were ready to concur with him in any thing that tended to depreſs the Power of the See of *Rome*; and the getting ſuch Acts repeal'd, which was certainly then in the King's Power, as well as the framing them, would have laid ſtill greater Obligations on the Pope, to indulge him in the Grand Affair of the Divorce. But whatever were the King's Inducements for making the Statutes above-mention'd, it appears to have been a meer Accident, that

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*A.D.*1534 his Majesty's Submission to his Holiness was not accepted, if we may credit the concurrent Testimony of our Historians.

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The Breach with the Court of *Rome* purely accidental.

It has been already related, that his Holiness refus'd to accept the King's Submission, unless he made it in Writing, and that the Courier return'd with it to *Rome* on a Day prefix'd; that the Submission was actually sign'd, and the Courier dispatch'd with it to his Holiness, so that all Differences between the King and the Pope were upon the Point of being accommodated. I am now to add, that it being Winter time, the Courier was so hinder'd by contrary Winds, bad Ways, or Floods, that he did not arrive at *Rome* on the Day appointed: Whereupon the Imperial Cardinals incited his Holiness to proceed to give Sentence against the King. The Bishop of *Paris*, on the other hand, desir'd he would suspend it only for six Days, representing, that an hundred Accidents, at that time of the Year, might prevent his return on the Day prefix'd; and indeed, that the Time given him was so short, that it was scarce possible he should return so soon. But the Pope being terrified by the Threats of the Imperialists, immediately gave Sentence against the King in the manner above related; and two Days after, the Courier arriv'd with his Majesty's Submission. Whereupon several Cardinals propos'd the rehearing of the Cause; but the Pope was so influenc'd by the Imperial Cardinals, that he refus'd to reverse the Sentence; which induc'd the King to establish that Separation from the See of *Rome*, which was already begun by the Acts of the Convocation and Parliament above-mention'd.

The Pope refuses to reverse the Sentence.

After

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The Oath to the Succeſſion taken by Clergy and Laity.

After the riſing of the Parliament, Commiſſions were iſſu'd to all the Counties of *England*, requiring the King's Subjects to take the Oath to the Succeſſion of the Crown, *&c.* and we find accordingly, in *Rymer's Fœdera* *, the Form of the Oath as it was taken by the Abbots and Monks, and probably the ſame Form was adminiſtred to the reſt of the Clergy. In this Oath they ſwear to be faithful to the King and Queen, and the Iſſue of their Bodies; they acknowledge the King to be ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*; that the Biſhop of *Rome*, who uſurp'd the Name of Pope and ſupreme Pontiff, had no more Authority in *England* than any other Biſhop; that they renounc'd all Obedience to him, and would preach ſuch Doctrines only as were agreeable to the Holy Scriptures; that they would pray for the King as ſupreme Head of the Church, for the Queen and her Iſſue, and for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Orders of the Clergy: And this Oath was ſubſcrib'd by all that took it. That adminiſter'd to the Laity, may be ſeen in Biſhop *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation* †, the Subſtance whereof was, That the Party ſhould bear Faith, Truth, and Obedience to the King, and to the Heirs of his Body by Queen *Anne*, as was limitted by the ſaid Act of Succeſſion, and no other within the Realm, or to any foreign Potentate, and that any Oath they might have taken to ſuch Foreign Power, was Void; that they would obſerve, maintain, and defend the ſaid Act of Succeſſion, and all the Contents

* Rymer, *Vol.* XIV. *p.* 487.

† *Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. *Vol.* I. *p.* 146.

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Contents thereof, and not suffer any thing to be attempted or done, directly or indirectly, to the hindrance or derogation of the same.

26 Hen. 8

Bishop *Burnet* in a Mistake.

Bishop *Burnet* asserts, that the Forms in which the Abbots and Monks took the Oath are not known, the Records being destroy'd in Queen *Mary*'s Reign. From whence it appears, that he had not met with the Records which *Rymer* afterwards collected, and from whence the Oath above recited, which was requir'd of the Abbots and Monks, is taken.

The Oaths refus'd by Sir *T. More* and Bishop *Fisher*.

It does not appear that any of the King's Subjects refus'd to take and subscribe the Oath, unless Dr. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas More* the late Lord Chancellor, who were thereupon committed to the Tower. And Queen *Katherine* still refusing to lay down the Title of Queen, the King order'd all her Servants to be dismiss'd, who gave her any other Title than that of Princess Dowager.

The Emperor's Designs against *England*.

During these Changes at home, the Emperor, who had the Charge of putting the Pope's Sentence in Execution against King *Henry*, had propos'd to marry his Cousin the Princess *Mary* to some foreign Prince of his Party, and to advance her to the Throne of *England* during the Life of her Father; to which end he employ'd his Emissaries in *Scotland*, to persuade that People to invade the North of *England*; but *Henry* was so fortunate as to conclude a Peace with King *James* on the 20th of *May*, to continue during their Lives, and for one Year after the Death of either. King *Henry* was by this Treaty oblig'd to surrender up *Edrington* to the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Angus*, with his Brothers the *Douglas*'s, were permitted to take

ike Refuge in *England*. And the Emperor found himself so embarrass'd by the Opposition he met with from the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, and the Invasion of the *Turks*, that he was oblig'd to lay aside his Designs against the King of *England*. Pope *Clement* VII. who had given Judgment against *Henry*, died on the 26th of *September*, and was succeeded on the 12th of *October* by Cardinal *Farnese*, who took upon him the Name of *Paul* III. This Pontiff shewing no more Inclination to accommodate matters with the King of *England* than his Predecessor had done, a Parliament was assembled on the 23d of *November*, where several other Acts were made for abolishing the Pope's Authority.

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Pope *Clement* dies, and is succeeded by *Paul* III.

By the first Act, the King is declar'd *The only supreme Head of the Church of* England, and empower'd to visit, redress and reform all Errors, Heresies and Offences in the Church, which by any spiritual Authority might be redress'd.

Acts pass'd. The King declar'd Head of the Church

By the 2d, the Oath taken to the Succession by Virtue of the former Act, is confirm'd, and the very Form of Words that Oath was taken in by the Laity, was order'd to continue the Form for those to whom it should be tender'd for the future; there being no particular Form appointed by the former Act.

The Oath of the Succession confirm'd.

By a 3d Act, the Annates, First Fruits, and Tenths of the Clergy were granted to the Crown.

First Fruits given to the King.

By the 13th Act of this Sessions, it is made High-Treason to conspire or imagine the bodily Hurt of the King or Queen, or their Heir apparent; or to say, that the King is a Heretick,

High-Treason to conspire against the King, &c.

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Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Uſurper. And it is Enacted, that no Perſon guilty of High-Treaſon ſhall have the Benefit of Sanctuary.

Suffragan Biſhops.

Chap. 14, appoints five and twenty great Towns to be the Sees of Suffragan Biſhops.

Pardon.

Chap. 18, contains a general Pardon to the King's Subjects, except for Treaſon, Murder and Felony, and Perſons convicted for Hereſy, *&c.* in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, and remaining in Priſon, with many other Exceptions.

The reſt of the Acts of this Seſſion will be found at the end of the Reign.

Proclamation forbidding the Biſhop of *Rome* to be call'd Pope.

Soon after the riſing of the Parliament, a Proclamation was publiſh'd, prohibiting the Biſhop of *Rome* to be call'd Pope, and requiring that Name to be raſed out of all Inſtruments and Records where it was mention'd. And here it may be proper to obſerve, what Progreſs the Reformation had made in *England* at this time. Biſhop *Burnet*, notwithſtanding the vile Character he has given Cardinal *Wolſey* in other Places, is ſo juſt to his Memory, to obſerve *That he was no great Perſecutor of Hereticks.* But leaſt this ſhould derive ſome Honour on the Cardinal's Memory, he adds, *That this was generally thought to flow from his Hatred to the Clergy.* But then, as he has told us in other Places, that this Averſion of the Cardinal's to the Clergy proceeded from their Immoralities, and that he went a great way in the Reformation of them, impartial Men will be apt to have a better Opinion of his Eminence than that Prelate deſign'd they ſhould even from his own Account of him. *Rapin*, a Diſciple of the Biſhops, from what he found

Wolſey a Favourer of the Reform'd.

found in his Writings, concludes, *That Cardinal* Wolsey *in some Measure countenanc'd the Reformation in* England, *and that during his Administration, no Person was persecuted for Heresy.* And other Writers suggest, that this was the Reason he always miss'd of the Papacy, tho' he had so great an Interest in the sacred College, the Cardinals dreading nothing so much as his Reforming Spirit. But to proceed. A.D. 1534 A 26 Hen. 8

The Bishop affirms, but from what Authority it does not appear, that when Sir *Tho. More* came to be Chancellor, he press'd the King to put the Laws in Execution against Hereticks, suggesting that the Court of *Rome* would be more wrought upon by the King's supporting the Church, and defending the Faith vigorously, than by Threatnings; and *therefore*, a Proclamation was issu'd against Hereticks, their Books burnt and prohibited, and the Laws against them put in Execution.

Sir *T. More* charg'd with being the Author of the Persecution by Bp. *Burnet.*

The Bishop relates also, that *More* took upon him to answer most of the Books written in behalf of the Reformation, the Popish Clergy scarce wrote any thing on that Head, (unless *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, who defended the Doctrine of Purgatory;) that *John Frith* replied to this Advocate for Popish Doctrines, and fully answer'd all his Arguments, and that *More* finding the Pen was too feeble a Weapon to defend their Superstitions, sought out sharper Tools, causing poor People to be persecuted for teaching their Children the Lord's-Prayer in *English*, reading Protestant Books, harbouring their Preachers, speaking against Pilgrimages, Worshipping of Images, *&c.* And in this

More's Books answer'd by *Frith.*

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Some considerable Reformers burnt.

Perſecution rais'd by *More*, it was that *Bilney*, *Byfield*, and *Baynham*, already mention'd, were burnt, and afterwards *Harding* and *Frith*. Theſe were moſt of them very learned Men, and *Frith*'s Arguments againſt the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, ſeem to be unanſwerable, for which I refer the Reader to Biſhop *Burnet*'s *Hiſtory of the Reformation*. But I find ſeveral Reformers of Diſtinction, as well as thoſe of the meaner ſort, thought fit to renounce their Principles, rather than undergo the fiery Trial, particularly *Crome* and *Latimer*, who being charg'd with Hereſy before the Convocation, ſubſcrib'd certain Articles offer'd them, declaring, that there was a Purgatory; that Souls were profited by Maſſes ſaid for them; that the Saints in Heaven mediated for us, and Men ought therefore to pray to them; that Pilgrimages were meritorious; that Men who vow'd Chaſtity ought not to marry without the Pope's Diſpenſation; that the Keys were given to St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors, and not to the Laity; that Men merited by Prayers, Faſting, and good Works; that the Seven Sacraments conferr'd Grace; that it was good to ſet up the Images of Chriſt and the Saints in Churches; and that Kings were not oblig'd to allow the People the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue. From whence it is inferr'd, that the oppoſite Doctrines to theſe were generally taught by the Reformers. But to proceed.

Others renounce their Principles.

Sir *Thomas More* reſigning the Great Seal, and the Act above-recited, for altering the Laws relating to Hereſy, paſſing about the ſame time, which provided that no Perſon ſhould be charg'd with Hereſy but by Preſentment,

sentment or Indictment in the Courts of Law, or by the Oaths of two credible Witnesses, the Persecution of Protestants began to abate. Q. *Ann* also is said to have had a great Share in putting a Stop to it, being enclin'd to the Reformation herself, and entertaining *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, two of the most eminent amongst them, for her Chaplains. Archbishop *Cranmer* was another great Support to the Protestants, and *Cromwel*, who was at this time highly in the King's Favour, did them all manner of good Offices. *A.D.* 1534 *A.* 26 *H.* 8 The Queen, *Cranmer*, and *Cromwel*, put a Stop to the Persecution

On the other Hand the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Longland* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had complied with the King in the Matter of the Divorce, and his Separation from *Rome* (tho' in their Hearts, Bishop *Burnet* suggests, they were utterly against both) upon all Occasions persuaded the King to make no Innovations in Religion, representing that he had himself written a Book in Defence of the Faith, which was admir'd by all the Learned World, and cou'd not retract it with a good Grace; that Foreign Princes, who might approve of his opposing the Papal Encroachments, as well as his own Subjects, wou'd confederate against him, if he went about to introduce new Articles of Faith, and overturn the Religion establish'd, and therefore it was by no means advisable to attempt any Alteration in Religion. Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* oppose the Reformation.

To which *Cranmer* reply'd, that since the King had abolish'd the Pope's Authority, it was very absurd to encourage those Doctrines that had no other Foundation than the Decrees of Popes, and press'd his Majesty to hear and examine things freely, that the Peo-

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ple might no longer be compell'd to believe Doctrines that had no other Warrant than the Authority of *Rome* to support them; and as the King was biass'd by the one or the other of these Parties, the Reformation of Religion was promoted or discourag'd.

The King proceeds capitally against those who deny'd his Supremacy

Notwithstanding the Nation in general, and the Monks in particular, had acknowledg'd the *King's Supremacy*, yet when they saw how far his Majesty extended *that Supremacy*, framing such Articles of Faith, as he saw fit, and obliging the People to believe as he believ'd, many of the Clergy, and especially the Monks, refus'd to submit to it; whereupon the King resolv'd to proceed Capitally against the Recusants. The first Examples of

Three Priors condemn'd.

this Kind were *John Haughton*, Prior of the *Charter-house*, *London*, *Robert Lawrence*, Prior of *Belleval*, and *Austen Webster*, a Monk of *Shene*, all of them much esteem'd for their Piety. These Fathers being all in *London*, and understanding that some of the Members of the Council were deputed to see them take the Oath of Supremacy, came to *Cromwell*, and desir'd they might be excus'd, or that they might take the Oath with that Restriction, *as far as the Divine Law wou'd allow*; but they were committed to the Tower as Rebels, and soon after indicted of High Treason. What the Treason was does not appear, for the Act which requires the taking the Oath of Supremacy does not make the refusing the Oath High Treason; but it is very probable that the Treason laid in the Indictment was the Conspiring against the King's Person and Government, as it was in Sir *Thomas More*'s Indictment afterwards; and the speaking against the King's Supremacy was interpreted

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an Overt Act, or Evidence of their conſpiring againſt his Majeſty's Government; but whether the Jury look'd upon this to be an extraordinary Stretch of the Law, or out of regard to the Characters of the three Priors, who were Men eminent for their Piety and Virtues, they cou'd not be brought to give a Verdict againſt them the firſt Day, and when *Cromwell* demanded what they meant by this Conduct, the Jury anſwer'd, they cou'd not find thoſe Fathers guilty as Malefactors. Whereupon, 'tis ſaid, *Cromwell* threatned they ſhou'd ſuffer Death as Malefactors themſelves, if they did not bring in the Priſoners guilty; and in a manner compell'd the Jury to convict them. Whereupon Sentence was paſs'd, and they were executed as Traitors at *Tyburn* on the 4th of *May*, with a great deal of Rigour, being cut down and embowel'd while they were living. They profeſs'd at their Deaths, that it was not out of obſtinate Malice, or any Inclination to rebel that they diſobey'd the King in this Matter, but purely for Fear of offending God.* On the 19th of *June* three more *Carthuſian* Monks were executed for refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, being all of them Men of good Families; after which five or ſix Laymen were made Governors of the *Charter-houſe*, who had Power to receive the Revenues, and to impriſon and puniſh the Friars, if they remain'd obſtinate.

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The Jury threaten'd by the Court before they wou'd find the Priſoners guilty.

They are executed.

Three Monks more executed for refuſing the Oath.

The King, Lord *Herbert* relates, was troubled at theſe Executions, and wou'd have been glad not to have been compell'd to take theſe violent Courſes; and that to expreſs his Sorrow, he caus'd his Head to be ſhav'd, and his Beard to be cut round.

* Strype's Memorials, Vol. 1. p. 196.

A.D. 1535 round. However, it appears that he ſoon after proceeded to make ſtill greater Examples of his Vengeance, being determin'd at any Rate to ſupport the Supremacy he had aſſum'd; and accordingly Dr. *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who had already lain a Year in the Tower, where he ſuffer'd great Hardſhips, notwithſtanding his Age and Character, was now again requir'd to take the Oath of Supremacy, and his Refuſal of it being interpreted High Treaſon, he was beheaded on *Tower-hill* the 22d of *June*. The Death of this Prelate was ſuppos'd to be haſten'd by the Pope's giving him an extraordinary Character for the Reſolution he had ſhewn in oppoſing the King's Supremacy, and ſending him a Cardinal's Hat, which however nobody was hardy enough to bring over to *England*; and the Biſhop, it ſeems, had declar'd he wou'd never accept that or any other Preferment.

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Dr. *Fiſher* condemn'd and executed for denying the King's Supremacy.

More condemn'd for his Silence.

The next Sacrifice the King made was that of Sir *Thomas More*, late Lord Chancellor, who had been committed to the Tower at the ſame time with Biſhop *Fiſher*. Some Commiſſioners being deputed to examine this great Man concerning his Thoughts of the Supremacy, and knowing by what had paſs'd, the fatal Conſequence of ſaying any thing againſt it, he choſe to be ſilent, and avoided as much as he cou'd giving a poſitive Anſwer; he ſaid, *The Act concerning the Supremacy was a two-edg'd Sword; if he anſwer'd one way it wou'd confound his Soul, and if the other way it wou'd confound his Body.* Whereupon the Indictment againſt him charg'd, that he was *maliciouſly ſilent*. He was alſo charg'd with holding a Correſpondence with the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, his Fellow-Priſoner, in the Tower:

But

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But how either of these Facts cou'd amount to High-Treason is very difficult to conceive, at least to the Treason laid in the Indictment, *the conspiring against the King and Government.* But Juries were terrified to bring in what Verdicts the Ministry saw fit; and as some Forms were observ'd in taking away the Lives of Men, the Judgment was *term'd* legal. We find our Historians frequently affirming, that *King* Henry *did nothing contrary to Law*; but the having no Laws cannot be a greater Misfortune than Laws thus strain'd and perverted: Better the King had acted arbitrarily, without any Colour of Law, than thus have made one Part of his Subjects instrumental in murdering the other, only to remove the Odium from himself. But to proceed. Sir *Thomas More* preserv'd his usual facetious Temper to the last; for being led out to Execution on the 6th of *July*, and observing the Stairs to the Scaffold very weak, he said to one of the Company, *Friend, lend me your Hand to get up, and when I come down let me shift for myself.* The Executioner afterwards asking his Forgiveness, according to Custom, Sir *Thomas* granted it, but added, *You will get but little Credit by cutting off my Head, my Neck is so short.* Then he desir'd the Executioner's Leave to lay his Beard aside, *for that* (says he) *has committed no Treason*, intimating, perhaps, that his whole Person was equally innocent: however, certain it is, he was not under the least Consternation at the Approach of Death, which was generally ascrib'd to his Innocence.

His Contempt of Death.

Nor was the King only severe against the Party who disputed his Supremacy, but punish'd those with equal Rage who refus'd to subscribe

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Several *Hollanders* burnt.

The King excommunicated by the Pope.

The King's Resolution to suppress the Monasteries.

subscribe to Popish Doctrines. *Frith* was burnt two or three Years before, for denying the real Presence in the Sacrament, as has been related, and this Year certain *Hollanders* were burnt for professing Doctrines that were not agreeable to the King's Creed. His Majesty was, as some have observ'd on this Occasion, *impartially cruel*. Pope *Paul*, it seems, had made some Advances towards a Reconciliation with the King; but he no sooner receiv'd Advice of the executing the Monks above-mentioned, and of *Fisher* and *More*, who dy'd in Defence of his Cause, than he was out of all Patience; he immediately excommunicated *Henry*, absolv'd his Subjects from their Allegiance, order'd the Clergy to abandon his Dominions, and his Subjects to take up Arms against him, putting the Kingdom under an Interdict; which being no more than the King expected, he had kept up a Correspondence with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, in order to find the Emperor Employment if he shou'd attempt to put the Pope's Sentence in Execution. The Bishops and Clergy were also requir'd to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy over again.

But, as the Monks appear'd most averse to the Supremacy, the King, it's said, took a Resolution to suppress their Monasteries, by which means he propos'd also to repleniſh his Treasury, and put himself in a condition to resist both Foreign and Domestick Enemies. And *Cranmer* is said to have encourag'd the King in this Resolution, looking upon the Monasteries as the greatest Obstacles to the Reformation, and proposing with the Revenues to found several new Bishopricks. But that the King might have the better Colour

for

for suppressing these Houses, it was thought proper in the first Place, to order a general Visitation of the Monks and Nuns, from whence some Abuses wou'd probably be discover'd, which wou'd justify the King's Conduct. Accordingly *Cromwel* being appointed the King's Visitor, nominated several Commissaries or Deputies under him, who set out in *October* this Year, to visit such Parts of *England* as were respectively assign'd them, and eighty six Articles were given them in Charge, which were to be the Subject of their Enquiries; particularly, they were to enquire into the Government and Behaviour of each Society, whether they liv'd up to their Rules, and to give the Friars Encouragement to lay open the Faults of their Governors and of each other, to command them to exhibit the Titles and Evidences of their Lands, to give Inventories of their Plate and Effects, to enquire whether they acknowledg'd the King's Supremacy, whether any Women frequented the Houses of the Monks, or any Man the Nuns, to examine into their feign'd Relicks and Miracles, *&c.*

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A severe Visitation of the Monasteries.

The Subject of the Visitors Enquiries.

The Visitors, who were far from being Friends to the Monks, gave them to understand, that the King was so exasperated at the Conduct of some of their Brethren, that they must expect the utmost Rigour of the Law if they were found obnoxious, insinuating at the same time, that their wisest Course would be to surrender their Houses into the King's Hands, and not hazard the involving themselves in the same Ruin with those Monasticks whose Obstinacy had prov'd so fatal to them; whereupon the Monks of several Convents thought fit to surrender their Houses to the Crown.

Some Abbots surrender their

*A.D.*1535 Crown. The first was that of the Abbey of *Langden*, where Bishop *Burnet* relates, that the Visitors breaking open the Abbot's Door on a sudden, found him in Bed with a *Whore*, in that Prelate's modest Phrase; *Concubine* wou'd have been too soft a Name; but perhaps the Historian makes no Difference between the one and the other; tho' it seems a little strange that the Abbot shou'd be surpriz'd in Bed with any Woman in his own Abbey in the Manner this Fact is related, for the Abbeys were generally very strong Buildings, not easily accessible, and a great many Doors probably were to be pass'd before they cou'd reach the Abbot's Apartment; therefore one wou'd have thought some of the Servants, or Members of the Society, shou'd have given the Abbot Notice before the Visitors cou'd have enter'd hisBed-chamber, especially when the Visitation was no Secret, but daily expected. But the Bishop goes on, and says, they found great Factions in the Houses, and barbarous Cruelties. He does not say in *some Houses*; from whence it is presum'd he wou'd have us understand this of *all*, especially when he adds, that in *some* were found the Instruments and Tools for coining. *But for the Lewdness of the Confessors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houses being almost all found with Child; for the Dissoluteness of the Abbots, and the other Monks and Friars, not only with Whores, but with married Women; and for their unnatural Lusts and brutal Practices, these are not to be spoken of, much less enlarg'd on; the full Report of which Visitation is lost; yet,* says the Bishop, *I have seen an Abstract of a Part of it, concerning one hundred and forty four Houses, that contains Abomination*

*A.*27 *Hen.*8 Houses to the Crown.

Whether Bishop *Burnet*'s Account of their Immoralities is to be rely'd on.

bominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom. Thus far Biſhop *Burnet*; and had he ſpoke out and enlarg'd never ſo much on this Subject, what cou'd he have ſaid or ſuggeſted more *monſtrous*, or in coarſer Language, than he has us'd on this Occaſion? And he wou'd have done well, in the Opinion of ſome of his Readers, to have given them the Extract from whence he pretends to have taken this, in his Collections, that they might have ſeen that he had not exaggerated, or gone beyond his Text. But however fairly he may have tranſcrib'd this Load of Calumny, it is obſervable, the Biſhop entirely ſuppreſſes that Part of the Report of the Viſitors which tends to derive any Honour on the Monks, and conſequently in this Inſtance muſt be allow'd a very partial Hiſtorian. The Lord *Herbert* is ſo much above this inhuman and ſcandalous Practice, that he informs us, *All were not alike criminal, for ſome Societies behav'd themſelves ſo well, as their Lives were not only exempt from notorious Faults, but their ſpare Time beſtow'd in writing Books, Carving, Graving, and the like Exerciſes; inſomuch that their Viſitors became Interceſſors for them.* And the Extract the Biſhop mentions, how faithfully ſoever it was made, according to his own Account, related but to 144 Houſes, which were probably the moſt obnoxious Monaſteries; and therefore his Inſinuation that *all* of them were ſuch as he deſcribes, was not very ingenuous, or becoming the Character of *the Right Reverend Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

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The Lord *Herbert*'s Account of the Monks.

There is no Doubt but in ſo numerous a Body of Men, there were ſome of profligate Characters; but as they had been viſited ſe-

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veral Times a little before by *Wolsey*, who is acknowledg'd to have us'd very great Severities in his Inquisitions, one wou'd have thought they shou'd have corrected a great many of their Faults, or at least have been so much upon their Guard, as not openly and generally to have given the Government a Handle to extirpate them for such *monstrous* Impurities and Immoralities as are enumerated by the Bishop; and we may depend upon it, had they *generally* been what this Historian represents, they wou'd have been suppress'd at once by Act of Parliament as the Pests and Bane of Society, without using any Arguments to induce them to surrender voluntarily, and promising them Money, or Pensions for their Lives, as was practic'd both then and afterwards. *Some*, says the Lord *Herbert*, *who by Threats and fair Words were induc'd to surrender their Houses to the King, got small Pensions during their Lives; and others by paying great Sums to the King and* Cromwel, *redeem'd their Monasteries from the present Calamity, yet so as even from these also divers Jewels and Church Ornaments were taken away for the King's Use.* But what must we think of the King or his Visitor, if they had compounded with the Monks for those notorious Crimes the Bishop charges them with? They might be very faulty, but their greatest Fault, and that which principally induc'd the King to dissolve them, possibly, was their great Wealth and Possessions, which he discover'd on this Visitation; nor did this Inquisition extend only to the Monasteries, but all Colleges, Chanteries, and Hospitals, were visited, and a Survey was taken of all Ecclesiastical Dignities and Preferments, which were recorded in a Book to be kept in the Exchequer. As

Compositions made with some Monasteries.

Hospitals and Colleges visited and the State of the rest of the Clergy enquir'd into.

As to *Rapin*'s Account of the Monks, it appears to be taken altogether from Biſhop *Burnet* without Examination, and in Imitation of his ador'd Author, he charges them with *monſtrous Immmoralities, and horrible Crimes*, but ſays not one Word of their Virtues or good Deeds; and, as a later Race of Saints maintain'd, that Dominion as well as Property was founded in Grace, we are left to infer that they were juſtly depriv'd of their Eſtates, on account of their Vices, a Doctrine which a certain Writer obſerves, few Proprietors wou'd be content to be try'd by at this Day. But to proceed. Dr. *Shaxton*, one of Queen *Anne*'s Chaplains, and a Favourer of the Reformation, was about this Time made Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, in the room of Cardinal *Campeio*; and Dr. *Hugh Latimer*, another of the Queen's Chaplains, and an eminent Reformer, was advanc'd to the See of *Worceſter*; Dr. *John Hilſey*, to the See of *Rocheſter*; and Dr. *Edward Fox* was made Biſhop of *Hereford*. I ſhall conclude this Year with an Obſervation or two of the Lord *Herbert*'s, *viz.* That Braſs Canon were firſt caſt in *England* this Year; and that a Million of Gold and Silver was brought from *Peru* to *Spain* about this Time, moſt of it the Plunder of the *Americans*, the Mines of that Country not being then diſcover'd, or at leaſt wrought by the *Spaniards*.

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Rapin follows Biſhop *Burnet* in his Account of this Viſitation.

Some of the Reformers made Biſhops.

Braſs Canon firſt caſt here.

Treaſure imported from *Peru*.

Queen *Katherine* did not long ſurvive her Diſgrace; and poſſibly the King's ill Uſage of her might contribute to bring her to the Grave. She died at *Kimbolton* in *Huntingtonſhire*, in the fiftieth Year of her Age, about three and thirty Years after her coming to *England*. She ſent the King a very moving Letter while ſhe lay on her Death-Bed, wherein ſhe

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Queen *Katherine* dies.

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she advises him to take care of his Soul, and forgives him all the Troubles he had brought upon her; after which she recommends their Daughter *Mary* to his Care, and tells his Majesty in the Conclusion, that *he was still the Desire of her Eyes*. She was buried in the Abby Church of *Peterburgh*, which the King soon after converted into a Cathedral.

Parliament meets.

The Parliament assembling on the fourth of *February*, it was enacted, that no Ecclesiastick should be oblig'd to pay his Tenths the same Year he paid his first Fruits: The Act for his Majesty's appointing thirty two Persons to examine the Canons and Constitutions of the Church was confirm'd; but nothing was ever done, either in Pursuance of the former Act or this. The King assum'd a Power of determing what Canons shou'd be in force, and which shou'd not, whereby he kept the Clergy in Suspence, and under perpetual Apprehensions of being call'd to Account either for their Omissions or Commissions, and made them entirely subservient to his Pleasure. By the 26th Chapter of this Session, it was enacted, that Justice shou'd be administred in the same Manner in *Wales* as it was in *England*, and that the Marches, which were before independent Sovereignties (every Lord of the Marches being Prince of his Country) shou'd be united to some of the adjacent Counties, and Justice administred as in those Counties; and the Shires of *Wales* were order'd to be divided into Hundreds.

An Act concerning Tenths.

32 Commissioners to settle Church Affairs.

Wales to have the same Laws with *England*.

An Act for suppressing the lesser Monasteries, and granting them to the Crown.

An Act also pass'd for suppressing all Monasteries, whose Revenues did not amount to two hundred Pounds *per Annum*; the Inducement to which was said to be the irregular Lives of the Monks and Nuns, their pretending

tending to Miracles, and misapplying their Revenues contrary to the Intention of the Donors; and these Monasteries, with their Lands, Revenues, Ornaments, Jewels, Plate, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, were granted to the Crown, together with those already surrender'd or dissolv'd within a Year before the making the Act; and by another Act a new Court was erected, stil'd *The Court of Augmentations*, with proper Officers to take care of the Revenues, *&c.* arising from these Houses, and applying them to the King's Use. Three hundred and seventy six Houses were suppress'd by the former of these Acts, the Revenues of which amounted to thirty two thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which *Rapin* represents as too inconsiderable to have a Court erected on purpose to take care of them, and therefore infers, that his Majesty had an Eye upon the greater Monasteries at the same time: But if Bishop *Burnet*'s Calculations are not extremely wide, these Houses were much richer than they seem'd to be, the Abbots taking great Fines, and letting their Lands at low Rates, because they wou'd not be oblig'd to maintain too many Monks; and thereby, he observes, they enrich'd themselves and their Brethren. He adds, that many of these Houses which were let for two hundred Pounds a Year, were in Fact worth many thousands, * which if admitted, the Lands belonging to the suppress'd Monasteries were not so inconsiderable as Mr. *Rapin* imagines, but might have deserv'd the Care of a particular Court, if the rest of the Monasteries had stood. Besides, the King

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An Act for erecting the Court of Augmentations

The Monastery Lands worth a great deal more than they were let for.

* *The Monasteries were without doubt let under the improv'd Value; but Bishop* Burnet's *Calculations are certainly of the largest here, as will appear from several Considerations mention'd hereafter.*

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King frequently and solemnly declar'd, he had no Design to suppress the larger Monasteries, tho' possibly the Rebellions that afterwards happen'd in Favour of the Monks, might induce him to alter his Mind. But here it may be proper to observe, that Bishop *Burnet* makes three Acts to have pass'd this Session in relation to the Monasteries; one for suppressing them, a second granting them to the King, and a third for erecting the Court of Augmentations, and reproves the Lord *Herbert* and *Fuller* for mentioning but two: But possibly the infallible Bishop himself may want Correction again in this Place; for it is evident that the lesser Monasteries are dissolv'd by no other Act than that by which they are granted to the King. But this Mistake of the Bishop's seems to arise from the misplacing the two Acts; *viz.* that for the Dissolution, and the other for the Court of Augmentations, in the Statute Book, the Act for the Court of Augmentations being plac'd first, which recites indeed an Act made the same Session, that had granted these Houses to the King, and this induc'd the Bishop to believe there was another before it; tho' if he had read the Statute which transfers them to the King carefully, he would have found this to be the very Act, which in the Statute Book is plac'd after that for erecting the Court of Augmentations, and must have concluded, there could have been no manner of Occasion for another Act. It is evident to me, that there was no other Statute for their Dissolution, because there is no other recited, neither in the Act which transfers the Monasteries to the King, nor in the Act for erecting the Court of Augmentations.

Bishop *Burnet* mistaken as to there being three Acts relating to the Monasteries pass'd this Session.

The

This Parliament having been continu'd six Years by several Prorogations, which no Parliament before ever was, as some observe, was dissolv'd on the 14th of *April*. The Convocation which assembled two or three Days after the Meeting of the Parliament, agreed, at the Instance of the Court Bishops, that the Bible should be translated into *English*; and the King taking it upon himself to see it done, great Expedition appears to have been us'd; for it was all translated and printed within the Space of three Years, which was look'd upon to be a great Point gain'd by the Reformers, inasmuch as the People must observe, there was no Manner of Foundation for many Popish Doctrines in the Scriptures, when they came to peruse them. On the other hand, the Reformed receiv'd a terrible Blow by Queen *Anne*'s Disgrace, which happen'd not long after the Dissolution of the Parliament. This Princess had shewn herself the Patroness of the Protestants, and there was great Expectations she wou'd have entirely reconcil'd the King to their Doctrines, when his Majesty unfortunately cast his Eyes upon another celebrated Beauty, Mrs. *Jane Seymour*, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour; and tho' the Queen saw it, and did all she cou'd to recover the King's Affections, she found all her Endeavours unsuccessful, the King seem'd only studious how to get rid of her, and enjoy the present Object of his Affections; which the Queen's Enemies observing, had the Assurance to represent her Majesty as disloyal to the King's Bed; particularly her Sister-in-law, the Lord *Rochford*'s Wife, being in ill Terms with her Husband, insinuated to his Majesty, that the

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The Bible order'd to be translated into *English*.

Queen *Anne*'s Disgrace.

*A.D.*1536 Queen and her Brother the Lord *Rochford*, were more familiar than a Brother and Sister ought to be: others accus'd the Queen of a Criminal Correſpondence with ſeveral other Gentlemen, particularly with *Henry Norris*, Groom of the Stole, *Francis Weſton*, and *William Brereton*, Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, and *Mark Smeton*, a Muſician; which Suggeſtions, 'tis ſaid, were countenanc'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, on account of his Zeal for the Old Religion, of which he apprehended the Queen to be the moſt powerful Enemy. Whether his Majeſty really believ'd theſe Reports or not, he appear'd extremely troubled at the Queen's Conduct, tho' at the ſame time, probably it was ſome Conſolation to him, that he had ſo fair a Pretence to diſpatch her out of the way, and make room for his new Conqueſt.

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The Queen accus'd of Criminal Amours.

The firſt time the King diſcover'd his Reſentment againſt the Queen publickly, was on the 1ſt of *May*, at a ſolemn Juſt held at *Greenwich*, (where *George* Viſcount *Rochford*, the Queen's Brother, was the principal Challenger, and *Henry Norris* his Opponent); the King ſuddenly departed from the Juſts, with a Countenance that ſhew'd ſome uncommon Diſorder. *Saunders* relates, that the Queen, who was preſent, let fall her Handkerchief, and ſome of her ſuppos'd Favourites wip'd his Face with it, which gave the King that Uneaſineſs; but Biſhop *Burnet* ſuppoſes, it proceeded from a Letter which the King receiv'd at theſe Juſts, to inform him that the Lady *Wingfield*, one of the Queen's Servants, had upon her Death-bed charg'd her Majeſty upon Oath, with ſome criminal Amours. Certain it is, the King retir'd on a ſudden to *Whitehall*,

Whitehall, ordering the Queen to be confin'd to her Chamber in the Palace of *Greenwich*, and examin'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſome other of the Privy Council, who were her Enemies, and treated her with great Inſolence. The next Day the Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton*, and *Smeton*, were committed, and the Queen coming from *Greenwich* in her Barge, was carried to the Tower. Four of the Gentlemen on their Examination, abſolutely deny'd their having had any criminal Converſation with the Queen, as they did to the laſt; only *Smeton* the Muſician depos'd, that he had enjoy'd the Queen three times; which our Hiſtorians ſuppoſe he was induc'd to do, either by Threats or Promiſes; however, he was hang'd out of the way, and never produc'd as a Witneſs againſt her at the Trial, which renders his Teſtimony liable to great Exception; but had it been true, this would not have affected the Queen's Life, tho' it might have done his own, there being no Law then in Being which made it High-Treaſon, or even Capital, for the Queen Conſort to entertain a Gallant. Dr. *Burnet* admits, that the Queen was of an airy cheerful Temper, and would now and then rally the Gentlemen of the Court, and that her Converſation with them was not always ſuitable to her Dignity. The Truth is, ſhe was a beautiful *Engliſh* Lady, and had been bred in the *French* Court, where Women of Quality uſually converſe with greater Freedom than in *England*. The King was at firſt taken with theſe Liberties, ſhe engag'd his Heart by her eaſy ſprightly Converſation, ſo very different from the Gravity of his *Spaniſh* Spouſe, with which he was ſurfeited; but

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The Queen, the Lord *Rochford*, *&c.* committed to the Tower.

*A.D.*1536 *A.*28 *Hen.*8. when he had made *Anne* his Wife, possibly those very Liberties which had appear'd so engaging before, gave him some Suspicion of her Virtue, and his Passion for the Lady *Jane Seymour*, might improve into a Belief that *Anne* was not altogether Innocent, nothing being more natural than to believe as we would have it. But to proceed.

Norris, &c. tried. *Norris*, *Weston*, *Brereton*, and *Smeton*, were brought to their Trials in *Westminster-Hall* on the 12th of *May*, on two Indictments, one of them found by the Grand Jury of *Kent*, and another by the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, as the Crimes with which they were charg'd were suppos'd to have been committed in both Counties. *Smeton* confess'd himself guilty, as hath been related already, and the other three were found guilty by the Jury, and all of them condemn'd to be executed as Traytors; but what the Treason was, our Historians do not inform us, tho' it is very natural to believe they were Indicted on the 25th of *Edward* III. which makes it High-Treason to lie with the Queen Consort.

They are condemn'd

The Queen and Lord *Rochford* tried. The next Day being the 16th of *May*, the Queen, and her Brother the Lord Viscount *Rochford*, were tried by their Peers, the Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord High-Steward. The Charge against the Lord *Rochford* probably was the same as that against the other Prisoners: But the Queen, according to Bishop *Burnet*, was indicted of High-Treason, *in having procur'd her Brother and the other four Prisoners to lie with her, to whom she had said, that the King never had her Heart, and had told each of them, she lov'd him better than any Person whatever, to the Slander of the Issue begotten between the King and her.* And it was added,

added, says Bishop *Burnet*, to swell the Charge, [*That she and her Accomplices had conspir'd the King's Death.*] But, with the Bishop's Leave, these last Words were so far from being superfluous, that there was nothing else in the Indictment that could amount to High-Treason. The Queen's being disloyal to the King's Bed was not Treason; and if these Words, *That she lov'd another better than the King*, were strain'd so far as to be interpreted an Intention to slander her own Issue, even this, by the Act of Succession the Bishop mentions, was but *Misprision of Treason*, unless the Words had been put in Writing, which is not pretended. But it is too evident, neither Peers or Commoners, Judges or Jury, durst disobey the King's Will, and therefore, right or wrong, she was brought in guilty of High-Treason, and receiv'd Sentence to be burnt or beheaded as the King should appoint: The Lord *Rochford* likewise being convicted, receiv'd Sentence as a Traytor. M. *Rapin* takes upon him to say, That the Charge of *Conspiring the King's Death*, was not insisted on at the Queen's Trial; for which, I presume, Bishop *Burnet* was his Authority; but either our Historians did not know, or at least they did not consider, that had all the rest of the Charge been prov'd, it had not been Capital in the Queen. The Peers certainly found the whole Charge, and consequently *the Conspiring the King's Death* with the rest. Possibly it might be insisted on by the Council against the Queen, that if she had *prostituted* herself to so many Men, *that* was a sufficient Evidence of her conspiring or imagining the Death of the King, which was High-Treason by

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The Queen's being false to the King's Bed not capital.

She is convicted and condemn'd to be burnt or beheaded.

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by the 25 *Ed.* III. But this, I must acknowledge, is but my Conjecture, and the Reader is at Liberty either to approve or reject it; only there is this Presumption that it was so, that the Queen could not have been found guilty of High-Treason upon any other part of the Charge.

Rapin's Mistake as to the Trial of a Peer.

I must take Notice here of another Error in *Rapin*, which he has been guilty of in several former Reigns; he imagin'd, that a Peer ought to have been tried by the *whole* House of Peers *out of Parliament*. *It is observable*, says that Gentleman, *that there were but twenty-nine Peers present at the Trial, tho' there were then fifty-three in* England. But whoever is acquainted with the Laws of *England*, knows, that at that time there was no Necessity that *all* the Peers should be present; nay, there is no Instance where they were, *unless the Parliament was sitting*; and it was very seldom that there were so many in the Commission as nine and twenty, which we find in this. But to proceed.

The Queen was suffer'd to live but four Days after her Trial, so much in haste was the King to possess his new Mistress; and yet in this short Interval did he oblige her to confess she was contracted to the Earl of *Northumberland* before she married the King; and upon this Confession he was divorc'd from her by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' *Northumberland* made Oath there never was any such Contract. Here again *Rapin* observes the King's Policy, in not letting the Divorce precede her Trial, because then, says that notable Writer, she could not have been condemn'd for an Adultéress; not considering that Adultery, even in a Queen, was not capital

The Queen oblig'd to confess a Precontract, and is divorc'd.

capital by our Law then; so that the Injustice was the same in putting her to Death, whether she was contracted first to the Earl of *Northumberland* or not. Dr. *Burnet* also seems to have entertain'd the same Notion, that the Queen was condemn'd only as an Adulteress, tho' at other times he acknowledges that she was indicted and convicted of High-Treason, in conspiring against the King's Life, and in pursuance of it was condemn'd to be burnt or beheaded at the King's option. The same Reverend Writer conjectures, that she confess'd the Precontract with *Northumberland*, that the King might be induc'd to pardon the burning, and be content with her Head. *A.D.*1536 *A*28*Hen.*8

But however that matter be, the 19th of *May* being appointed for the Queen's Execution, it seems she never appear'd more cheerful than she did that Morning; she also sent for *Kingston*, Lieutenant of the Tower, to see her receive the Sacrament, and did then before him, solemnly insist upon her Innocence, insomuch that *Kingston*, in his Letter to the King that Morning, tells him, *He had seen many Men and Women executed, who had been in great Sorrow, but this Lady had much Joy and Pleasure in Death:* Which to every impartial Man must be a great Argument of her Innocence. When she came to the Scaffold indeed, she only said she was adjudg'd to die by the Law; she would accuse none, or say any thing of the ground upon which she was judg'd. She pray'd for the King, and call'd him a merciful gentle Prince; and if any one should meddle in her Cause, she desir'd they would Judge the best; after which she bid adieu to the Company, and Her Behaviour at her Execution.

*A.D.*1536 and desir'd they would pray for her. The Reason she express'd so little Resentment at
A 28 *Hen.*8 the Proceedings, or the King's Usage of her at this time, is suppos'd to be, that the King might be induc'd to deal the more favourably with her Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, and as she had just before receiv'd the Sacrament, and made a solemn Profession of her Innocence before the Governor of the Tower, she chose not to provoke the King, by saying any thing that might reflect upon his Majesty in publick.

She was beheaded on the Green within the Tower, by an Executioner sent for from *Calais* on purpose, who separated her Head from her Body at one Stroke with a Sword. The King had still so much regard for his once lov'd *Anne* of *Bolein*, that he would not suffer her Person to be mangled with an Axe, as Prisoners of State sometimes are in *England*. Four of the other Prisoners being Men of Quality also, were beheaded, but not quarter'd: *Mark Smeton* only was hang'd.

The other Prisoners executed.

The King marries *Jane Seymour*.

The King, within a Day or two after Queen *Anne*'s Execution, married the Lady *Jane Seymour*; from whence People generally concluded, that his principal Motive for hurrying the late Queen out of the World, was to throw himself into the Arms of his new Mistress.

The Condition of the Princess *Mary* and *Elizabeth*.

Upon the Death of Queen *Anne*, the Princess *Mary* was advis'd to write to her Father, and endeavour to regain his Favour; but the King would not be reconcil'd to her, till she sign'd an Article, acknowledging his Supremacy, and the Unlawfulness of her Mother's Marriage; and how much soever this went against the Grain, she found herself oblig'd to

to comply with these Terms. On the other hand, the Princess *Elizabeth*, who had been acknowledg'd Princess of *Wales* from the time of her Birth, was allow'd to enjoy that Title no longer; however, she had still an Apartment in the Court, and her Education was suitable to that of the King's Daughter. *A.D.*1536 *A*28*Hen.*8

The Parliament meeting on the 8th of *June*, was open'd with a Speech of the Lord Chancellor *Audley*'s, who tells them, the King had call'd them together, to settle the Succession of the Crown, in case his Majesty should die without Children lawfully begotten, and to repeal the former Act, which had settled the Crown on his Issue by the late Queen *Anne*, for the King, at the humble Request of his Nobility, and not out of carnal Concupiscence, had married a young Lady, by whom he had great Hopes of Issue. And a Bill was accordingly brought in, which pass'd both Houses without Opposition, whereby the former Act of Succession was repeal'd, the two Sentences of Divorce confirm'd, and the Issue of both the former Marriages declar'd illegitimate; the Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Accomplices also is confirm'd. This Act sets forth, that the Queen being inflam'd with Pride and carnal Desires of her Body, had confederated with *George Bullen* her Brother, and the rest of her Accomplices, (*Mark Smeton* being in the Act stil'd Grome of the Privy-Chamber) and with them committed divers detestable and abominable Treasons, to the Danger of his Majesty's Royal Person and the Desolation of the Realm, if God had not brought their Treasons to light; and therefore, the former Act of Succession is repeal'd, and the Crown settled on his Majesty's

Parliament meets.

The Succession of the Crown new setled.

*A.D.*1536 *A*28 *Hen.*8

fty's Iſſue by Queen *Jane*, remainder to his Iſſue by any future Queen; but in default of ſuch Iſſue, ſince it was not expedient to declare to whom the Crown ſhould be limited after the King's Death, leſt the Perſon ſo deſign'd, might be thereby enabled to raiſe Troubles and Commotions; therefore, they conſidering the King's wiſe and excellent Government, and confiding in the Love and Affection which he bore to his Subjects, did give him full Power to declare the Succeſſion to the Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or by his Laſt Will, ſign'd with his Hand, and promis'd all faithful Obedience to the Perſons nam'd by him; and if any ſo deſign'd to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp upon thoſe before them, or to exclude them, they are declar'd Traytors, and were to forfeit all the Right they might thereafter claim to the Crown. And if any ſhould maintain the Lawfulneſs of the former Marriages, or that the Iſſue by them was legitimate, or refus'd to ſwear to the King's Iſſue by Queen *Jane*, they were alſo declar'd Traytors.

Treaſon to believe the King's Marriages good.

An Act for extinguiſhing the Pope's Authority.

And it was made High-Treaſon to *believe* either of the ſaid Marriages good, or the Iſſue of them legitimate. Another Act paſs'd for extinguiſhing the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; Enacting, that if any Perſon by Writing or Printing, ſhould endeavour to maintain or defend the Power or Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* in this Kingdom, he ſhould incur a Præmunire: And every Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Officer, was requir'd to take an Oath to renounce the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, on pain of High-Treaſon.

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A third Act was made which recites, that the See of *Rome* during her Usurpation, had granted Immunities to several Persons, Bodies corporate, and Societies in *England*, and Enacts, that all such Immunities should be void; which chiefly struck at the Monks of some Houses that had been exempted both from Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. *A.D.* 1536. *A.* 28 *Hen.* 8. An Act for extinguishing the Immunities of the Clergy.

An Act also was made to compel all Incumbents to reside on their Livings, notwithstanding their Residence in the Universities. An Act for the Residence of the Clergy.

And the King procur'd another Act, impowering his Successors to repeal all such Acts as should be made after their several Accessions, and before they should attain their respective Ages of four and twenty Years. An Act for the repeal of all Acts made in the Minority of any future King.

It was made High-Treason by another Act, to marry any Person nearly allied to the Crown, without the King's License. *Thomas Howard* Brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*, having lately enter'd into a Contract of Marriage with *Margaret Douglas*, Daughter of the Queen of *Scotland* the King's Sister, for which they were both committed to the Tower. Treason to marry one nearly allied to the King.

The Prices of Wines were also settled in this Parliament, *viz.* *French* Wine at Twopence a Quart, and Sack at Three-pence. Price of Wine.

After which the Parliament broke up on the 18th of *July*, having sat but six Weeks, to frame and pass so many important Acts; probably they were most of them prepar'd by the Ministry before the Parliament assembled, the King in this Reign dictating most of our Laws. About this time, *Tindal*, who translated the Bible into *English*, was burnt. Parliament rises. *Tindal* burnt.

*A.D.*1536 burnt as an Heretick at *Bruſſels* in the *Low-Countries.*

A 28 *Hen.* 8

The Convocation ſhew'd themſelves no leſs obſequious to his Majeſty than the Parliament, for they declar'd the King's Marriage with *Anne Bolein* void, on account of the pretended Precontract. On the other hand, they exhibited ſixty-ſeven Articles againſt the Reformers, imagining that now Queen *Anne* their Patroneſs was dead, they ſhould be able entirely to ſuppreſs them. But the King, inſtead of hearkening to their Repreſentation, order'd them to take into their Conſideration the Articles of Faith, and the Ceremonies us'd in the publick Worſhip of God. This occaſion'd warm Debates in the Convocation, there being near the ſame Number of Biſhops that favour'd the Reformation as oppos'd it. At length ten Articles were introduc'd into the Convocation, which the King himſelf had drawn up, and which they were oblig'd to agree to.

Proceedings in the Convocation.

Articles of Faith and Ceremonies preſcrib'd.

1. That the Holy Scriptures, with the three Creeds and four firſt General Councils, were the Grounds of Religion.

2. The Neceſſity of Baptiſm was eſtabliſh'd.

3. Auricular Confeſſion.

4. The real Preſence of *Chriſt*'s Body in the Euchariſt, is eſtabliſh'd as a fundamental Doctrine.

5. The fifth aſſerts, that Juſtification is attain'd by Regeneration, which conſiſts in Contrition, Faith, and Charity.

6. The ſixth appoints Images to remain in Churches, but declares, that the Kneeling and Offering before them, was not done to the Image but to God.

7. By

7. By the ſeventh, Saints were to be honour'd, without believing that ſuch Things were to be obtain'd of them as only God could give. *A.D.*1536 *A*28*Hen.*8

8. The eighth directs Saints to be pray'd to and their Days obſerv'd, but without Superſtition, and the King was impower'd to leſſen the Number of Holidays.

9. The Ceremonies to be retain'd in the Church, were the Veſtments of the Prieſts, Holy Water, Holy Bread, Candles on *Candlemas-Day*, giving Aſhes on *Aſh-Wedneſday*, bearing Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, creeping to the Croſs and kiſſing it on *Good-Friday*, hallowing the Font with their Exerciſms and Benedictions.

10. It is declar'd good to pray for the Dead, but that it was neceſſary to correct the Abuſes which had been introduc'd on Pretence of Purgatory; the Pope's Pardons and Maſſes before certain Images; and ſince the State of departed Souls after Death was not known, they were to be recommended to God only in general Terms.

The King afterwards acquainted the Convocation, that he had been cited to a General Council to be held at *Mantua*, which was ſummon'd by the Pope, in concert with the Emperor, without conſulting his Majeſty, and deſir'd the Advice of his Clergy upon it. The Convocation having conſider'd the matter, preſented his Majeſty with their Opinion in Writing; wherein they obſerve, that a General Council was a very proper Method to preſerve the Peace of the Church; but it ought to be conſider'd by what Authority it was call'd, and if the Reaſons for calling it were of Moment, who were to be the Judges, and

The King cited to a General Council.

Reaſons againſt his appearing at it.

*A.D.*1536 and what the manner of their Proceeding,
A28Hen.8 and the Points to be ſettled in it; and they were of Opinion, that neither the Pope or any Prince in the World, had Power to call a General Council, without the Conſent of every *Chriſtian* Sovereign. Whereupon the King ſign'd and publiſh'd a Proteſt againſt the Council, intended to be held at *Mantua*, which he ſaid, he could not look upon either to be Free or General, ſince the Biſhop of *Rome* was to preſide in it, and it was to meet in a ſuſpected Place, and at a Time when the Emperor and the *French* King were engag'd in War. In the mean time *Cromwell* having been created a Baron, and the King's Vicegerent in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, publiſh'd in his Majeſty's Name, certain Injunctions in relation to the Clergy. Which Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, was the firſt Act of pure Supremacy, executed by the Royal Authority alone, for in all that preceded, the King had the Authority of both Convocations. Theſe Injunctions were by no means acceptable to the Clergy, for they were enjoyn'd to preach up the King's Supremacy every *Sunday*, for a Quarter of a Year together, and read the Laws relating to it; to teach the Doctrines lately ſet forth by the Convocation; and, to provide a Bible in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, to be laid in the Churches for every one to read.

Injunctions to the Clergy.

The Clergy were forbid to haunt Taverns, or Play at Tables, Cards, *&c.*

Every Parſon whoſe Revenue was upwards of twenty Pounds *per Ann.* was to diſtribute a fourth Part of it to the Poor. Every Clergyman who had an hundred Pounds *per Ann.* was to keep an Exhibitioner at a Gram-

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mar School, or at the Univerſity. And he who had two hundred Pounds *per Ann.* two Exhibitioners; and ſo in Proportion to their Revenues. Where Churches, *&c.* were out of Repair, the Incumbents were to lay out a fifth Part of their Revenues in the Repairs. And there were other Injunctions that abridg'd the Number of Holidays. To all which the Clergy were oblig'd to ſubmit. *A.D.*1536 *A.*28*Hen.*8

But however conformable both the Clergy and Laity in *England* might *appear* to be to the King's Pleaſure, thoſe who were abroad and out of his Reach, were not ſo complaiſant, but gave him very hard Words, calling his Majeſty *Tyrant*, *Heretick*, *Oppreſſor*, and abundance of other opprobrious Names; particularly *Reginald Pole*, (Son of Sir *Richard Pole* and the Princeſs *Margaret*, Daughter of the Duke of *Clarence*) the King's near Relation, was very ſevere upon his Majeſty. *Pole* at this time reſided in *Italy*, and having obtain'd a great Reputation abroad for his Parts, Learning, and Royal Extraction, the King wrote to him, and kindly invited him into *England*, in hopes he ſhould bring him over to his Sentiments; but *Pole* plainly told his Majeſty, that he neither approv'd of his Divorce from Queen *Katherine*, or his Separation from the See of *Rome*, and for thoſe Reaſons he ſhould not return. He alſo wrote a Book *de Unione Eccleſiatica*, wherein he compares the King to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and incites the Emperor and the reſt of the Princes of Chriſtendom to make War upon him. Whereupon the King depriv'd him of all his Preferments in *England*, and *Pole* became an irreconcileable Enemy, both to his Majeſty and the Reformation; however, the Pope and

Pole writes againſt the King.

*A.D.*1536 and the Emperor made up his Loſſes; and it was not long before he obtain'd a Cardi-
*A*28*Hen.*8 nal's Hat: But tho' *Pole* himſelf was out of the King's Power, his Relations in *England* ſuffer'd very ſeverely on his Account afterwards.

The leſſer Monaſteries ſuppreſs'd.

And now in Purſuance of the Act which paſs'd in the beginning of this Year for the Suppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries, the King, in the Month of *Auguſt*, diſpatch'd ſeveral Officers of the Court of Augmentations, as his Commiſſioners, to expel the Monks, and take Poſſeſſion of their Houſes, Goods, and Eſtates, and convert them to the Uſe of the Crown. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that the Writers who liv'd near thoſe Times repreſent this Matter very odiouſly, and ſay, that ten thouſand Perſons were turn'd out to ſeek their Bread, only forty Shillings and a Gown being given to every Fryar, and to the Nuns nothing but a Gown; and it was generally ſaid, and not improbably, the Biſhop thought, that the Commiſſioners were as careful to enrich themſelves as to encreaſe the King's Revenue. The Churches and Cloyſters were for the moſt Part pull'd down, and the Lead, Bells, and other Materials, ſold. This occaſion'd heavy Complaints, eſpecially from the Monks who were undone. They exclaim'd againſt the King, that under Pretence of the Miſcarriages of ſome few of their Order, he had proceeded to ſuppreſs the reſt, being an unheard of Practice. If they were faulty they might have been puniſh'd and reform'd; but with what Juſtice cou'd he ſeize thoſe Eſtates that had been devoted to pious and charitable Uſes? The Nobility and Gentry made much the ſame Complaint: They

Ten thouſand Religious turn'd a ſtarving.

Murmurs of the People on the Diſſolution of theſe Houſes.

They ſaid their Anceſtors had founded theſe Houſes for many good Purpoſes, and there was no Manner of Reaſon they ſhou'd be ſwallow'd up by the Crown. Here they obſerv'd the Gentry frequently diſpos'd of their Daughters and younger Children, and had an Opportunity of providing for their neceſſitous Relations; adding, that many of theſe Convents were Seminaries of Learning, of Arts and Sciences: beſides, here the Gentry us'd to be hoſpitably entertain'd in their Journeys, and the Poor were fed and provided for. Thus the greateſt Part of the Nation, both Clergy and Laity, appear'd extremely diſcontented with the ſeizing the Lands and Goods belonging to the Religious Houſes. *A.D.* 1536 *A.* 28 *H.*8

In order to appeaſe theſe Murmurs, ſeveral Books were publiſh'd, ſetting forth the Cheats and Vices of the Religious; but theſe had very little Effect upon the People, who look'd upon thoſe Stories to be generally forg'd or exaggerated, to ſerve a Turn. At length *Cromwel* hit upon an Expedient, which in ſome Meaſure ſatisfied the Noblity and Gentry: He adviſ'd the King to let them have the Lands belonging to the Monaſteries upon Leaſe at the old eaſy Rents, (they were ſold outright at firſt, as Biſhop *Burnet* ſuppoſes) whereby they wou'd be greatly enrich'd, and conſequently it wou'd be their intereſt to keep the Country quiet, and to ſupport the King's Pretenſions to theſe Lands.

Books publiſh'd to expoſe their Vices and Cheats.

The King adviſ'd to diſpoſe of their Lands to the Gentry.

The King alſo re-founded fifteen Monaſteries, and ſixteen Nunneries, which were ſaid to have been more regular than the reſt, in order to pacify the People. But it is not unlike, ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, that ſome Preſents to the Commiſſioners, or to *Cromwel*,

Some Houſes purchaſe a Reprieve.

*A.D.*1536 made these Houses outlive this Ruin; *for there was great trading in Bribes.* But notwithstanding all the Precautions the Government took to satisfy the People, the Malecontents were every where found to be very numerous, upon the levying a Subsidy that had been granted by Parliament; insomuch that before *Michaelmas* they broke out into open Rebellion. The first Insurrection was in the County of *Lincoln*, where one *Mackerel*, Prior of *Barlings*, drew a great Multitude together, and march'd at the Head of them, stiling himself Captain Cobler. They sent a Roll of their Grievances to the King, of which the chief were his suppressing the Monasteries, and suffering his Councils to be govern'd by Men of no Quality or Figure in the World, pointing at *Cromwell*, who was the Son of a Blacksmith, and the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, whom they apprehended to be the most zealous Promoters of the Dissolution of the Monasteries. They also complain'd of his making Bishops who were heretically enclin'd, and suggested that they expected to see the Churches as well as the Monasteries, plunder'd and demolish'd, if he did not change his Ministry.

A 28 *Hen* 8.

Several Insurrections.

The King publish'd a Declaration in Answer to this Remonstrance of the Malecontents, and sent the Duke of *Suffolk* into *Lincolnshire*, with a small Body of Troops to make Head against them; but the Duke finding himself too weak to engage the Rebels, advis'd the King to offer them a Pardon; on the publishing whereof, great Part of the *Lincolnshire* Men abandon'd their Leader and dispers'd, and the rest retir'd into *Yorkshire*, where the People had taken Arms also, and were be-

The *Lincolnshire* Rebellion suppres'd.

come

come very formidable. Captain Cobler however was taken by the King's Forces, and put to Death. *A.D.*1536 *A*28*Hen.*8

The *Yorkſhire* Rebels conſiſted chiefly of the Monks and inferior People, whom they had ſpirited up againſt the Government; but they compell'd ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry in the Northern Counties to join with them; and among the reſt the Lord *Dacres* and the Archbiſhop of *York*. They were commanded by one *Aſk*, an obſcure Perſon, but admirably qualify'd to foment and proſecute an Inſurrection. They made a kind of Religious War of it, ſtiling their March, *the Pilgrimage of Grace*. Several Prieſts were ſeen at the Head of their Army, and in their Colours were wrought the five Wounds of our Saviour, with the Word *Jeſus*; and they declar'd their Deſign was to reſtore the Church, and ſuppreſs all Heretical Opinions; and wherever they came, re-eſtabliſh'd the Religious in their Monaſteries. The Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*.

The King ſent down a Proclamation with Offers of Pardon to the Northern Malecontents, as he had done in *Lincolnſhire*; but the Herald being brought before *Aſk* into the Rebel's Camp, where he ſate in State, with the Archbiſhop of *York* upon his Right Hand and the Lord *Dacres* on his Left, he wou'd not ſuffer the Proclamation to be publiſh'd, when he underſtood the Contents of it; whereupon the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewſbury* were ſent down into the North with five or ſix thouſand Men. On their Arrival at *Doncaſter*, they underſtood that *Aſk* was advanc'd pretty near them with a Body of thirty thouſand Men, and was determin'd to give them Battel; but

*A.D.*1536 *A*28*Hen.*8 but very fortunately for the King's Troops, the River on which the Town lies was so swell'd with the Rains that very Night, that the Rebels cou'd not approach it, which gave the Duke an Opportunity of treating with them, and persuading them to consent to a Cessation of Arms, under a Pretence that he wou'd procure them good Terms, if they wou'd send up a Petition to his Majesty: But the Malecontents finding that the Court only endeavour'd to amuse them 'till they had assembled a more powerful Army, came to a Resolution again to attack the King's Forces at *Doncaster*, and were preparing for it, when a second Inundation prevented their putting that Design in Execution. However, the King finding they were not to be trifled with, granted them a General Pardon without Exception, and promis'd to hold a Parliament at *York*, wherein their Grievances shou'd be redress'd. Whereupon the People generally dispers'd. The Rebels had conceiv'd great Hopes of engaging the King of *Scots* to espouse their Quarrel, and if they had, they wou'd probab'y have endanger'd *Henry*'s Crown; but whether King *James* did not care to disoblige the Court of *England*, being become presumptive Heir to that Crown since the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were declar'd illegitimate; or he was dissuaded from joining the Rebels by the *French* King; whose Daughter he married about this Time. certain it is, they receiv'd no manner of Assistance from *Scotland*.

The Rebels hinder'd attacking the King's Forces twice by Floods.

The King grants them a Pardon.

*A.D.*1537 *A.*29*Hen*8

The King having thus happily quell'd these Insurrections without Bloodshed, instead of holding a Parliament to redress the Grievance:

Grievances of the Malecontents, as he had promis'd, order'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to remain in the North with his Forces, and compel the People to renew their Oaths to the Government, and to ſwear that they wou'd obey all the Acts of Parliaments that had been lately made, relating to Religion or the State. He order'd alſo *Aſk* their General, and the Lord *Dacres*, to be ſent to Court, where *Aſk* was at firſt well receiv'd, but the Lord *Dacres* was ſent to the Tower; and this occaſion'd another Inſurrection in the North, under *Muſgrave* and *Tilney*, who aſſembled eight thouſand Men, in order to defend themſelves againſt the violent Meaſures they apprehended the Court were taking; for hearing the Lord *Dacres* was impriſon'd, they concluded they ſhou'd be call'd to an Account ſooner or later, notwithſtanding the King's Pardon. They attempted therefore to poſſeſs themſelves of *Carliſle* and *Hull*, but were attack'd by the Duke of *Norfolk* and defeated, before they cou'd effect either of theſe Deſigns. The Duke alſo ſuppreſs'd ſeveral other petty Inſurrections in the North, aud executed the Ring-leaders by Martial Law. Even *Aſk*, who was fled from Court, under an Apprehenſion that he ſhou'd be ſeverely dealt with, fell into the Hands of the King's Forces, and was put to Death. The Lords *Dacres* and *Huſſy*, who were concern'd in the late Inſurrections, were try'd by their Peers, convicted and executed; and Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, were hang'd at *Tyburn*, notwithſtanding the King's Pardon, which it does not appear they had forfeited by any ſubſequent Acts of Diſloyalty.

A.D. 1537

A 29 *Hen.* 8

The Lord *Dacres* impriſon'd, which occaſions another Inſurrection.

The Malecontents defeated.

Aſk and others hang'd by Martial Law.

The Lord *Dacres*, *Huſſy*, &c. executed.

The

*A.D.*1537 *A.*29 *Hen.*8

The Caſe of the Lord *Dacres* was thought very hard, being forc'd into the Rebellion, and fourſcore Years of Age when he dy'd. In *July* following all Diſturbances being entirely ſuppreſs'd, and the Chief of the Malecontents cut off, the King order'd the Duke to publiſh another General Pardon, to quiet the Minds of his Subjects.

Diſturbances in *Ireland.*

The following Year the *Iriſh* began to diſcover ſome Signs of Diſaffection; to which, it is ſaid, they were incited by the Emperor, which happen'd unfortunately for the Family of the *Fitzgeralds*; for King *Henry* was ſo exaſperated when he heard there was like to be Commotions in that Kingdom, that he order'd *Thomas Fitzgerald*, Son to the Earl of *Kildare*, with his five Uncles, who had remain'd ſeveral Years Priſoners in the Tower of *London*, to be executed. They had indeed formerly been in a Rebellion, but had ſurrender'd upon Terms, which occaſion'd the King to be eſteem'd a very cruel Prince. The youngeſt of the *Kildares* however eſcap'd his Rage, being convey'd out of the Tower by ſome of his Friends in a Bundle of Cloaths, and got ſafe to *Ireland*. A Parliament was ſoon after held in that Kingdom, where ſeveral Acts were paſs'd for ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries there, aboliſhing the Pope's Supremacy, *&c.* as in *England*.

Five of the *Fitzgeralds* executed.

The Monaſteries in *Ireland* ſuppreſs'd.

Prince *Edward* born.

And now the King, who had long paſſionately wiſh'd for a Son, had the good Fortune to ſee the Queen brought to Bed of a Prince on the 12th of *October*, which however coſt her Majeſty her Life. She died in Child-bed ten or twelve Days after ſhe was deliver'd, of a Diſeaſe incident to Women in that Condition, ſays the Lord *Herbert*, and not by the

the Inciſion-Knife, as ſome Writers have related. A.D. 1537

A. 29 Hen. 8

Creations of Nobility.

The Prince being baptiz'd by the Name of *Edward*, was in a few Days created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. About the ſame time Sir *Edward Seymour*, the Queen's Brother, lately made Lord *Beauchamp*, was created Earl of *Hertford*, Sir *William Fitz-William* (Admiral of *England*) was created Earl of *Northampton*, and in *March* following Sir *William Pawlet*, Treaſurer of the Houſehold, was made Lord *St. John*, and Sir *John Ruſſel* the Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſel*.

The King reſolves to ſuppreſs the greater Monaſteries.

The King finding Money flow in upon him by the Suppreſſion of the Leſſer Monaſteries, and looking upon the Monks as the greateſt Enemies to his Deſigns, and to have ſpirited up the late Inſurrections againſt him, incited by Revenge and Avarice, detetmin'd the Diſſolution of the reſt of the Religious Houſes; and that he might have a more plauſible Pretence for it, he order'd another ſevere Viſitation, not doubting but by a Diſcovery of their Vices and Holy Cheats, he ſhou'd render them odious to the People.

The Viſitors were order'd to enquire into the Lives and Converſations of the Monks, how they ſtood affected to the Government, and which of them had given any Encouragement to the late Inſurrections; to diſcover the Cheats, Impoſtures, and feign'd Miracles, by which they drew the People to their Houſes in Pilgrimage, and deluded them of their Money.

Many of them ſurrender upon Terms.

The Abbots finding the Government was determin'd to demoliſh their Houſes, thought it was better to ſurrender them upon Terms than

*A.D.*1537 than wait till they were diſſolv'd by Act of Parliament, as the leſſer Monaſteries had
*A*29*Hen.*8 been. Some of them, 'tis ſaid, had countenanc'd the late Inſurrections, and did not care to run the Hazard of being try'd for High Treaſon. Others, whoſe Lives were not free from Cenſure, choſe to accept a Penſion rather than undergo too ſevere a Scrutiny. Some of them had committed great Waſte on their Eſtates, and embezzled the Goods and Plate in their Monaſteries, in Expectation of a Diſſolution, and were in danger of being puniſh'd for Waſte and Dilapidations. Some, it's ſaid, were really inclin'd to the Reformation, and reſign'd voluntarily; and where there was a Vacancy, an Abbot was conſtituted by the King, on purpoſe that he might ſurrender the Houſe to his Majeſty, while others had Hopes given them of being made Biſhops Suffragans, or advanc'd to other Preferments in the Church. Where the Abbot had no Preferment, he was allow'd a handſome Penſion for Life, in proportion to his Merits, and the Value of his Convent. The Abbots of *St. Alban's* and *Tewkſbury* were allow'd each four hundred Marks *per Annum*, and their inferior Officers thirty, ten, and eight Pounds *per Annum* each, none leſs than a Penſion of ſix Pounds.

But there were ſome of the moſt celebrated Abbies which the King ſeiz'd as forfeited to the Crown, purely on account of the Abbots and Monks aſſiſting the Rebels with their Plate, which, Dr. *Burnet* obſerves, was a great Stretch of the Law, ſince the Offence of an Eccleſiaſtical Incumbent is a perſonal Thing, and cannot prejudice his Church or Convent. The Abbot of *Reading*, the Prior of

of *Woburn*, the Abbot of *Whaley*, with two of his Monks, the Abbot of *Sawley*, and the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, were actually executed for High Treaſon, according to the ſame Right Reverend Author. *A.D.*1538 *A*30*Hen.*8

The Commiſſioners oblig'd ſeveral Monks to ſign Confeſſions of their Vices and Cheats, (which, I preſume, were generally dictated by the Viſitor) and began with a Declaration, that the Abbot and his Brethren, for certain juſt and reaſonable Cauſes, did *freely, and of their own accord* (tho' never was a greater Force put upon any People) grant their Houſes to the Viſitors in truſt for his Majeſty. But many of the great Abbots ſtood out and refus'd to reſign, 'till they were compell'd to it by Act of Parliament. The Lord *Herbert** enumerates ſome of the Holy Cheats that were diſcover'd on this Occaſion, with the Relicks and Images to which Pilgrimages and Offerings were made. 'There was (ſays that noble Author) 'our Lady's Girdle ſhewn in eleven ſeveral 'Places, and her Milk in eight; the Belt of St. *Guthlac*, and the Felt of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaſter*, both Remedies for the Head-ach; the Pen-knife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a Piece of his Shirt, much reverenc'd by great-belly'd Women; the Coals that roaſted St. *Lawrence*; two or three Heads of St. *Urſula*; *Malchus*'s Ear, and the Paring of St. *Edmond*'s Nails; the Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the Spear's Head that pierc'd Chriſt's Side; an Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her Hand, which

The Monks oblig'd to ſign Confeſſions.

Some of the Cheats of the Monks expos'd.

* *Lord* Herbert's Compleat Hiſt. *p.* 213.

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‘ burnt nine Years together without waſting,
‘ ’till one forſwearing himſelf thereon, it
‘ went out, and was now found to be but a
‘ Piece of Wood; our Lady of *Worceſter*, from
‘ which certain Veils and Dreſſings being taken,
‘ there appear’d the Statue of a Biſhop ten
‘ Foot high. Theſe and others were now
‘ brought forth, and with great Oſtentation
‘ ſhew’d to the People; among which were
‘ two notable Trumperies I cannot omit; one
‘ was the Rood of Grace at *Boxley* in *Kent*,
‘ which being made with divers Springs to turn
‘ the Eyes and move the Lips, was ſhew’d pub-
‘ lickly at *Paul’s-Croſs* by *John* Biſhop of *Ro-*
‘ *cheſter*, and there broken and pull’d in Pieces.
‘ The other was at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*,
‘ where the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*, brought
‘ from *Jeruſalem*, being kept (as was affirm’d)
‘ for divers Ages, had drawn many great
‘ Offerings to it from remote Places; and it
‘ was ſaid to have this Property, that if a
‘ Man were in mortal Sin, and not abſolv’d,
‘ he could not ſee it, otherwiſe very well;
‘ therefore every Man that came to behold this
‘ Miracle, confeſs’d himſelf firſt to a Prieſt
‘ there, and then offering ſomething to the
‘ Altar, was directed to a Chapel where the
‘ Relick was ſhew’d; the Prieſt who confeſs’d
‘ him (in the mean while) retiring himſelf to
‘ the back part of the ſaid Chapel, and
‘ putting forth on the Altar a Cabinet or
‘ Tabernacle of Cryſtal, which being thick
‘ on one Side, that nothing cou’d be ſeen
‘ through it, but on the other Side thin and
‘ tranſparent, they us’d diverſly; for if a rich
‘ and devout Man enter’d, they wou’d ſhew the
‘ thick Side till he had paid for as many Maſ-
‘ ſes, and given as large Alms as they though
‘ fit

fit; after which (to his great Joy) they per- A.D. 1538
'mitted him to see the thin Side of the Blood, A 30 Hen. 8
'which yet (as my Author, a Clerk of the
'Council to *Edward* VI. and living in these
'Times, affirms) was prov'd to be the Blood
'of a Duck, every Week renew'd by two
'Priests, who kept the Secret betwixt them.

Many of their Images, which had prov'd to be the Occasion of deluding the People, were brought up to *London*, broken to Pieces, and burnt publickly, Sermons being made to expose the Imposture; the Crucifix of *Boxley* in *Kent* commonly call'd the Rood of Grace, particularly, which had been famous for bowing and shaking its Head, lifting up itself, stirring its Hands and Feet, rowling its Eyes, and moving the Lips, and to which many Pilgrimages had been made, being broken to Pieces at St. *Paul's* Cross, the Springs were shewn by which all these Motions were made, and Dr. *John Hilsey* Bishop of *Rochester*, preach'd a Sermon on the Occasion.

Images broken to pieces.

But nothing made a greater Noise at *Rome*, and among the Votaries of that Church, than the King's seizing on the rich Shrine of *Thomas* of *Becket*, who was Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Reign of *Henry* II. and had been canoniz'd for a Saint by the See of *Rome*, on Account of the Opposition he made to the Regal Power, which occasion'd the loss of that Prelate's Life, as has been related in the History of the Reign of *Henry* II. *Modern History*, Vol. XVI. *p.* 364. Such was the Devotion of the People to this pretended Saint, that there has been seen an hundred thousand Pilgrims come to pay their Homage to his Remains at one time, many of them Foreigners of Distinction.

The King seizes the rich Shrine of *Thomas* of *Becket*.

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Tho' Dr. *Burnet* takes Notice, that the Skull that had been worſhip'd as his for ſo many Years, belong'd to another Man, *Becket*'s Skull being found in his Grave with the reſt of his Bones; however, whether it was *Becket*'s or not, no Saint had ever more rich Offerings made him, for the Gold that was found in and about his Shrine being put into two Cheſts, was ſo heavy that eight ſtrong Men could ſcarce carry it out of the Church; beſides which, there were Jewels of an ineſtimable Value, one of them preſented by *Lewis* VII. King of *France*, *Anno* 1177, which King *Henry* us'd to wear afterwards in a Ring upon his Thumb; nor did the King only plunder the Shrine, but unſainted the Man, and order'd his Name to be ſtruck out of the Calendar, and either burnt or diſpers'd his Bones, in ſuch a manner that they could never afterwards be render'd the Objects of Superſtition.

The King is libell'd at *Rome* for his Sacrilege and Tyranny.

This Outrage done to one of the moſt ador'd Saints in the *Romiſh* Breviary, with the King's expoſing the holy Cheats and Impoſtures of the Monks, provok'd the Court of *Rome* to the laſt Degree, and occaſion'd innumerable Libels againſt his Majeſty from that Quarter; they repreſented him as the moſt ſacrilegious and bloody Tyrant that ever reign'd, who plunder'd Churches and Religious Houſes without Number, which the Piety of proceeding Ages had erected to the Honour of God, killing and deſtroying the Prieſts and Monks that officiated in them; Facts not to be parallel'd, they ſaid, in Heathen or Infidel Nations. And as the King underſtood by his Emiſſaries at *Rome*, that none had been ſeverer in their Reflections up

on him than *Pole*; the King's Hatred to that Cardinal and his Family became implacable, and some of them were not long after sacrific'd to his Resentment. *A.D.*1538 *A.*30*Hen.*8

Nor was the Court of *Rome* content with writing Invectives against his Majesty, but his Holiness finding there was no Hopes of an Accommodation, now proceeded to publish the Bull of Excommunication against him, which had lain dormant ever since the Year 1535. He incited all Christian Princes to take up Arms against *Henry*, and made an Offer of his Crown to the King of *Scotland*. But all this blustering came to nothing: Foreign Princes had no regard to the Bull, and the King's Subjects made no Attempts towards an Insurrection, tho' the Pope had absolv'd them from their Allegiance, and laid the Kingdom under an Interdict. The Excommunication of the King publish'd.

The King therefore went on modelling Religion after his own Humour without Interruption, and this Year he caus'd fifteen hundred Copies of the *English* Bible he had printed, to be set up in the principal Churches of *England*; which was follow'd by farther Injunctions of the Vicegerents, wherein the People were commanded to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in their own Tongue; and the Clergy were order'd to declare, that Relicks and Beads would not promote their Salvation; to take down all Images to which Offerings were made, and to suffer no Candles to be burnt before an Image, unless that of Christ's, nor were they any longer to use Prayers to the Saints to pray for them. The *English* Bible dispers'd. New Injunctions by the Vicegerent

But tho' *Henry* made these Advances towards a Reformation, he continu'd still to persecute

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*A*30*Hen.*8

The Reformers still persecuted.

The King disputes with *Lambert.*

persecute those who went greater Lengths than he had prescrib'd. The *Sacramentarians* (those who denied the real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament) he dealt very severely with, and having a great Opinion of his own Parts and Learning, would dispute with *Lambert*, who was charg'd with this Heresy as it was call'd, publickly in *Westminster-Hall:* But I find the King was assisted by eight or ten Bishops in this Disputation, whereby *Lambert* was so tir'd after an Opposition of several Hours, that he remain'd silent, and the King imagin'd he had made a Proselite of him; but *Lambert* declaring he was wearied, but not at all convinc'd by any of his Arguments, was order'd to be burnt as an Heretick, which was afterwards executed upon him. It appears that Archbishop *Cranmer* himself disputed against this poor Man; either he was not then a Sacramentarian himself, or he durst not profess himself such, when he saw how immoveable the King was in the contrary Opinion.

And burns him afterwards.

The Emperor and *French* King make a Truce, which offends King *Henry.*

The *French* King having made a ten Years Truce with the Emperor about this time, Dr. *Bonner*, the *English* Ambassador in *France*, had Orders to expostulate with *Francis* on his Breach of Faith, in entering into a Treaty with his Imperial Majesty without Consulting his old Ally King *Henry*, who had been Instrumental in procuring his Liberty when he was a Prisoner, supported him against the Emperor's Encroachments, and forgave him several large Sums of Money *Francis* was in no Condition to pay at that time: *Bonner* was also commanded to demand the Arrears of Tribute due to *England*, which were four Years behind. This Commission

miſſion the Ambaſſador executed, it ſeems, with great Faithfulneſs, not ſparing to reproach *Francis* with his Ingratitude in very rough Language. Whereupon the *French* King ſaid he was inſulted, and inſiſted that *Bonner* ſhould be recall'd, which *Henry* indeed complied with, but rewarded the Ambaſſador at his return with a Biſhoprick, whereby he ſhew'd he was not at all offended at the Liberties he had taken. However, as *France* was now no longer to be depended on, the King thought fit to endeavour the forming an Alliance with the *German* Proteſtants, that he might find Employment for the Emperor in Caſe he ſhould invade him; but the Proteſtant Princes would conclude no Treaty with *Henry*, unleſs he would aſſent to their Doctrines, and thereupon the Conferences broke off; and the *Turk* afterwards renewing the War with the Empire, his Imperial Majeſty was ſo taken up in the Defence of his own Territories, that he had no Leiſure to make any Attempt on *England*.

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A Treaty with the *German* Princes.

In the mean time *Cromwell* the Vicegerent, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, propos'd to the King his marrying the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve* and to the Dutcheſs of *Saxony*, as a probable means of engaging the Proteſtant Princes in his Intereſt; preſuming at the ſame time, that it would be greatly for the Advantage of the Reformation, to have a Proteſtant Queen on the Throne; and accordingly a Treaty of Marriage was ſet on foot between the King and the Lady *Anne*, the Succeſs whereof will be related hereafter.

A Marriage propos'd with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Cardinal *Pole* ſtill continu'd his Invectives againſt his Majeſty, he declar'd every where, that

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that the King was about to aboliſh all true Religion, and introduce his own Inventions in the room of it. Which ſo exaſperated *Henry*, that having diſcover'd the Cardinal's Relations in *England* kept a Correſpondence with him, he order'd Sir *Jeffery Pole* his Brother to be apprehended, together with *Henry Courtney* Marquis of *Exeter*, Grandſon of *Edward* IV. *Henry Pole* Lord *Montague*, another of the Cardinal's Brothers, Sir *Edward Nevil* and Sir *Nicholas Carew*, who were all tried and convicted of High-Treaſon, in correſponding with the Cardinal, and aiding and comforting him, while he remain'd an Enemy to the Government, and incited Foreign Princes to invade the Kingdom; and it appear'd, that ſome of the Priſoners had actually tranſmitted Money to the Cardinal, which was certainly High-Treaſon by the Laws of *England*; tho' Mr. *Rapin* ſeems to imagine there was little or no Crime in ſuch a Correſpondence, by the manner he ſpeaks of it. Certain it is, they were every one executed as Traytors, except Sir *Jeffery Pole*, who was an Evidence againſt the reſt, as 'tis ſaid.

Cardinal *Pole*'s Relations attainted for correſponding with him.

They are executed.

The Oaths renew'd. *A.D.*1539 *A*31*Hen.*8

Whether the King really imagin'd there was a Conſpiracy forming againſt him or not, he oblig'd all Eccleſiaſticks to renew the Oath of Supremacy, and to renounce the Pope's Authority at this time. He alſo fitted out a large Fleet, rais'd an Army, built and repair'd Fortreſſes on the Sea Coaſt, and viſited them in Perſon, as if he really expected a ſudden Invaſion, for which the late Peace between the Emperor and *France* gave him ſome Colour. Tho' my Lord *Herbet* ſuggeſts, that the true Reaſon of all this Hurry

The King raiſes an Army and fits out a Fleet.

Hurry and Expence, was to ſhew the People that there was a Neceſſity of raiſing conſiderable Sums by one means or other, and that if they did not acquieſce in his ſeizing the Monaſteries, they muſt raiſe it out of their own Pockets. But whatever were the King's Views, the following Parliament, which aſſembled on the 28th of *April*, were certainly extremely complaiſant to his Majeſty, for by 31 *Hen.* VIII. *Cap.* 13. all the Monaſteries and Religious Houſes which had been ſurrender'd to him were confirm'd. The Preamble of this Act recites, that whereas divers Abbots, Priors, Abbeſſes, Prioreſſes, and other Eccleſiaſtical Governors of Monaſteries and Religious Houſes, *of their own free and voluntary Minds, without Conſtraint or Compulſion*, ſince the 4th of *February*, in the 27th of this King, by due Courſe of Law, and by ſufficient Writings of Record, under their reſpective Seals, had ſeverally granted all their ſaid Houſes, with their Sites, Circuits, Precincts, and all and ſingular their Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments to the ſame belonging, to hold to the King and his Succeſſors for ever, and the ſaid Monaſteries, Religious Houſes, *&c.* had reinquiſh'd and forſaken.

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The larger Monaſteries confirm'd to the King.

It was therefore enacted, that the King and his Heirs ſhould have all the ſaid Monaſteries, Abbies, and Religious Houſes, with their Eſtates, which had been diſſolv'd, ſuppreſs'd, renounc'd, forfeited, or by any other means come into the King's Hands, in as large and ample manner as the reſpective Governors held them in Right of their ſeveral Houſes.

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'The Number of Monasteries first and 'last, says the Lord *Herbert* *, suppress'd in 'England and *Wales*, were (as *Camden* ac- 'counts them) six hundred forty-five, 'whereof these had Voices among the Peers, 'the Abbot of St. *Albans*, being (as I take it) 'declar'd the first Abby of *England*, (whe- 'ther in Favour of Pope *Adrian* IV. his 'Father, call'd *Breakspear*, who upon his 'Wife's Death, render'd himself a Monk 'there; or St. *Alban* himself, Protomartyr 'of *England*) St. *Peter*'s in *Westminster*, St. 'Edmundsbury, St. *Bennet*'s of *Holm*, *Bredsey*, 'Shrewsbury, *Crowland*, *Abingdon*, *Evesham*, 'Glouceſter, *Ramsey*, St. *Mary*'s in *York*, 'Tewksbury, *Reading*, *Battail*, *Winchcombe*, 'Hide by *Winchester*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, 'Malmsbury, *Thorney*, St. *Augustine* in *Can*- 'terbury, *Selby*, *Peterborough*, St. *John*'s in 'Colchester, *Coventry*, *Tavestock*. Of Col- 'leges, were demolish'd in divers Shires 'ninety; of Chantries and Free-Chapels two 'thousand three hundred and seventy-four; 'and Hospitals one hundred and ten. The 'Yearly Value of all which were, as I find 'it cast up, one hundred sixty-one thou- 'sand one hundred Pounds, being above a 'third part of all our Spiritual Revenues 'besides the Money made of the presen 'Stock of Cattle and Corn, of the Timber 'Lead, Bells, *&c.* and lastly, but chiefly 'of the Plate and Church Ornaments, whic 'I find not valu'd, but may be conjectur' 'by that one Monastery of St. *Edmundsbur* 'whence was taken (as our Records shew 'fiv

* *Lord* Herbert's Compleat History, *p.* 218.

five thousand Marks of Gold and Silver, besides divers Stones of great Value.' Bishop *Burnet* conjectures, that the Annual Value of the Monasteries was ten times as much as they were let for; and his admirer *Rapin* seems to be of the same Opinion, and tells us the King took no Notice of it, but was very glad the People were not acquainted with the whole Profit which accru'd to him for these Suppressions: But both of these celebrated Writers must be in a great measure mistaken, for if the Monastery Lands had been let for nine times less than they were really worth, then would the Lessees or Tenants have had nine parts of the Profits, and the King but the Tenth, which it is not to be suppos'd he would have been contented with, at least he would never have suffer'd a Clause to be inserted in the Act of Dissolution, which provides, that all Leases made a Year before for the accustom'd Rents should be good; he would rather, on the contrary, have had a Clause inserted, that all their Leases should be void, that he might have come into Possession of the entire Profits; besides, if it be consider'd that one hundred and sixty thousand Pounds multiplied by ten, would have made sixteen hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* which was more than two Thirds of the Rents of the Kingdom at that time, this must appear a most extravagant Calculation. It is very possible that the Tenants upon paying large Fines, might have their Leases one third under the improv'd Value of their Tenements; and this the King might be induc'd to wink at, because his raising the Rents, and racking the Tenants at the same time, when so many were already disoblig'd by the Suppression

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Bp. *Burnet's* Calculations, as to the Value of the Monasteries, impossible to be true.

*A.D.*1539 *A.*31 *Hen.*8

Suppreſſion of the Monaſteries, would have been a very impolitick Proceeding, and might have occaſion'd a general Inſurrection. The inſerting the Clauſe for confirming the Leaſes therefore was prudently added with this View; but no one in his Senſes can ſuppoſe that the King would have bound himſelf down by Act of Parliament, to have confirm'd the Tenants Leaſes, if the Lands had not been Lett to a tenth part of their Value; therefore Mr. *Rapin*'s pretty Remark upon this, as upon many other Facts which had no better Foundation, muſt paſs for pure Amuſement, or rather Deluſion; nor can I avoid obſerving, that whatever Authority Biſhop *Burnet* may have for other Facts in his Hiſtory, his Calculations are not always juſt; nor does that Right Reverend Writer give us this as an *Eſtimate only*, but poſſitively affirms, that the true Value of the Monaſteries *was at leaſt ten times as much as the Rents were then rated at* *.

The ſix bloody Articles Enacted.

Another Act paſs'd this Seſſion, entitled, *An Act for aboliſhing diverſity of Opinions in certain Articles concerning* Chriſtian *Religion*; by ſome call'd, *the bloody Statute*, inaſmuch as it oblig'd every Man to believe the ſix following Articles on pain of Death, *(viz.)* 1. Tranſubſtantiation. 2. That the Communion in both Kinds was not neceſſary. 3. That it was not lawful for Prieſts to marry. 4. That Vows of Chaſtity ought not to be broken. 5. That Private Maſſes were profitable. And, 6. That Auricular Confeſſion was neceſſary. If any Perſon by Word, Writing,

* *Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. *Vol.* I. *p.* 269.

Writing, or otherwiſe, held Opinions contrary to any of theſe Articles, he was to be adjudg'd an Heretick, to be burnt, and forfeit all his Lands and Tenements, Goods and Chattels to the King, as in Caſes of High-Treaſon. *A D.* 1539 *A* 31 *Hen.* 8

And it was alſo Enacted, that if any Prieſt or other Perſon, Man or Woman, who had vow'd Chaſtity, ſhould contract Matrimony, or otherwiſe break their Vows, both the Man and the Woman ſhould be adjudg'd guilty of Felony.

Theſe Articles which were fram'd chiefly for the Deſtruction of Proteſtants, and ſome others that had been before Enacted againſt the Votaries of *Rome*, render'd the King abſolute over his Subjects of every Denomination whatever, if he was not ſo before. People of all Perſuaſions were now liable to be call'd to Account and puniſh'd capitally, who did not believe as the King believ'd; his Subjects therefore ſtudied by the moſt abject Submiſſions to avoid incurring his Diſpleaſure; add to this, that he had it in his Power now to purchaſe the Nobility and Gentry with the Plunder of the Abby-Lands, and no Prince on Earth will be found to have had that unlimited Power which *Henry* VIII. was poſſeſs'd of at this time; and this is further evident from another Statute that paſs'd this Seſſion of Parliament, *viz.* That the King's Proclamations ſhould be of the ſame Force as Acts of Parliament, provided they were not Prejudicial to any Perſons Inheritance, Offices, Liberties, Goods, Chattels, or Lives.

The Subjects Lives of all Perſuaſions render'd Precarious by this Law.

Proclamations of the ſame Force with Acts of Parliament.

Another Act paſs'd, empowering the King to erect as many new Biſhopricks as he thought fit

The King empower'd to erect new Biſhopricks.

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fit. Biſhop *Burnet* tells us, he intended to have erected eighteen, and to have endow'd them with a thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* each; but his Heart fail'd him, it ſeems, for he never added more than ſix Biſhopricks to thoſe then in being. *Rapin* concurs with other Writers on this Occaſion, in cenſuring the Parliament who ſuffer'd theſe Miſapplications of the Abby-Lands; they were inexcuſable, he obſerves, for putting into the King's Hands ſuch immenſe Riches deſign'd for pious Uſes, without taking Care about the manner of laying them out, adding, *That Parliaments met in this Reign merely to be Inſtrumental in gratifying the King's Paſſions, without ever examining either the Motives or Conſequences of what he requir'd of them.* But to proceed.

Baſe Compliances of the Parliament.

A Seminary for Miniſters of State intended.

The King alſo, 'tis ſaid, deſign'd to have erected a Seminary for Miniſters of State, where young Noblemen and Perſons of Diſtinction, ſhould ſtudy the Civil Law, and perfect themſelves in the Modern as well as dead Languages, and when they had made a tolerable Proficiency, they were to be ſent abroad in the Trains of Foreign Miniſters, or employ'd in the Adminiſtration at home; others were to be employ'd in writing the Hiſtory of Embaſſies, Treaties, and other Foreign and Domeſtick Tranſactions. But this Project alſo, which is aſcrib'd to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, fell to the Ground, the King found other Employment for the Money he rais'd by the Abby-Lands; poſſibly it was from this Hint, and with the like View, that the late King made ſome Attempts towards the encouraging Modern Hiſtory and Languages in both Univerſities; but very little Proficiency,

ciency, I perceive, is made in either poſſibly becauſe the Salaries of the Profeſſors are precarious, depending purely on the Will of the Sovereign, and no Lands ſettled for the Security of them, as there are for the Salaries of the other Profeſſors. *A.D.* 1539 *31 Hen.* 8

In this Parliament alſo were ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction, ſome of them of the Royal Blood, attainted of High-Treaſon, without being brought to Trial, *viz. Margaret* Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, Grandaughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother of *Edward* IV. and the Mother of Cardinal *Pole*, and the Cardinal himſelf; as alſo *Gertrude*, Widow of the late Marquis of *Exeter*; Sir *Adrian Forteſcue*, and *Thomas Dingby* a Knight of St. *John*'s. The High-Treaſon charg'd on the Cardinal, was his conſpiring and confederating with the Pope and other Foreign Powers againſt the King; and the Treaſon with which the reſt were charg'd, was the correſponding with him, and confederating with ſome Malecontents at home, to diſturb the Government. *Forteſcue* and *Dingby* were executed not long after; the Counteſs of *Saliſbury* was repriev'd, but beheaded two Years after; and the Marchioneſs of *Exeter* was pardon'd. As for the Cardinal, he was out of the King's Reach, and tho' his Majeſty made frequent Inſtances with the Princes in whoſe Dominions he reſided to deliver him up, they would none of them hearken to it. The Cardinal liv'd and came over to *England* in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, and became in a manner the Director of her Conſcience. Biſhop *Burnet* ſuggeſts, that there were once ſome Overtures of Marriage between the Cardinal and the Princeſs *Mary*, and

The Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, *Pole*, *&c.* attainted of High-Treaſon.

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and that it was the King's divorcing her Mother, and declaring this Princeſs illegitimate, that render'd the Cardinal ſo implacable an Enemy to the King, and drew down that Vengeance on the Cardinal's Family, which was executed about this time. Biſhop *Burnet* relates alſo *, that 'when *Cromwell* demanded the Judges Opinion as to the Legality of theſe Bills of Attainder, which were about to be paſs'd againſt *Pole*'s Relations and Friends; they ſaid it was a dangerous Queſtion, *that the Parliament ought to be an Example to all inferior Courts, and that when any Perſon was charg'd with a Crime, he by the common Rule of Juſtice and Equity, ſhould be heard to plead for himſelf.* But the Parliament being the ſupreme Court of the Nation, what way ſoever they proceeded, it muſt be good in Law, and it could never be queſtion'd, whether the Party was brought to anſwer or not.' And thus a very ill Preſident was made, by which the moſt innocent Perſon in the World might be ruin'd; and this, as hath often been obſerv'd in the like Caſes, fell very ſoon heavily on the Author of the Counſel. There were twelve or thirteen Perſons more attainted in the ſame Parliament, for Crimes of the like Nature, and it does not appear that any of them were heard in their Defence, or had one Witneſs examin'd againſt them by the Parliament; ſo very ready were thoſe Gentlemen to ſacrifice every Perſon the King ſhew'd any Inclination to deſtroy.

The Judges Opinions as to the Juſtice of Bills of Attainder.

The

* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. *p.* 264.

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The last Act of this Sessions I shall mention here, is the Act for settling the Precedency of the Peers and great Officers of State, whereby *Cromwell* the King's Vicegerent, is appointed to take Place of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and all others Peers that were not of the Royal Blood.

An Act settling the Precedency of the Peers.

The Act which establish'd the six Articles, put those who were enclin'd to the Reformation into the utmost Consternation. *Shaxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Latimer* Bishop of *Worcester* resign'd their Bishopricks, as the most effectual way to preserve themselves, but were however committed to the Tower. As to *Cranmer*, possibly the King still remember'd the Service he had done him in the Business of the Divorce, and therefore skreen'd him from Prosecution, notwithstanding he had spoken and written with a great deal of Freedom against the passing of the Bill. However, those who adher'd to the Church of *Rome*, taking the Advantage this Statute had given them against the Reformers, prosecuted them with great Fury, and in *London* alone, had caus'd no less than five hundred to be committed to Prison, for refusing to conform to the Articles. But this, which every Body expected would have been the Ruin of the Protestants, at this time prov'd an Advantage to them; for the King observing what Numbers refus'd to submit to the Terms requir'd of them by the Articles, thought fit to pardon them all, and till the Death of *Cromwell*, there were scarce any other Prosecutions on this Statute. And had not the King taken an unaccountable Disgust to his Spouse the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, at the first Sight of her, possibly Religion might

Bp. *Shaxton* and *Latimer* committed to the Tower.

Great Numbers of Protestants imprison'd but pardon'd.

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have taken a different Turn, and the Reformation been further advanc'd in this Reign, but the King's Averſion to that Princeſs, prov'd the Ruin both of *Cromwell* and the Proteſtants. To be a little more particular: The Marriage Contract between the King and her, having been concluded by the Lord *Cromwell*'s Management, ſhe arriv'd at *Rocheſter* the 31ſt of *December*, whither the King went down incognito, to take a View of her Perſon; he had been preſented with her Picture before, very advantageouſly drawn by the celebrated *Hans Holbin*, but when he ſaw her, he was extremely ſurpriz'd to find none of thoſe Charms in her that he expected; he then bewail'd himſelf that he had ever proceeded ſo far, and as ſome Writers relate, he ſaid *They had brought him a* Flanders *Mare*. However, the *German* Princes being neceſſary to him at this time, rather than give them Occaſion to break with him, he ſolemniz'd his Marriage at *Greenwich*, on the 6th of *January*. The next Day, *Cromwell* aſking if his Majeſty was not better pleas'd with his Bride, he anſwer'd, *No: Much worſe; he had found by ſome Signs ſhe was no Maid, and he had no Diſpoſition to meddle with her.* And tho' he carried it very fair both to the Queen and *Cromwell* for ſome time, Hiſtorians ſuggeſt, that *Cromwell*'s negotiating this Match was the principal Occaſion of his Ruin, which happen'd not long after.

The King's Averſion to *Anne* of *Cleve*.

A.D. 1540 / *A* 32 *Hen.* 8

He marries her notwithſtanding.

Parliament meets.

The Parliament aſſembling on the 12th of *April*, was open'd with a Speech by *Cromwell*, wherein he tells them, that the King was concern'd at nothing more than the Differences he ſtill obſerv'd among his Subjects about Religion, and therefore had appointed the

Commiſſioners appointed to ſettle Articles of Faith, &c.

the Archbiſhops and certain Biſhops, with other Divines, to examine theſe Diſputes, and to ſettle ſuch Articles of Faith, and Ceremonies to be retain'd in the Church, as they thought agreeable to the Word of God; for though he deſir'd his People ſhou'd enjoy the Knowledge of the Truth, yet he wou'd ſeverely puniſh thoſe who oppos'd their private Opinions to ſuch Doctrines as were or ſhou'd be eſtabliſh'd by Authority, concluding his Speech with a very high Encomium on his Majeſty; and two Days after *Cromwell* was created Earl of *Eſſex*: From whence Biſhop *Burnet* infers, contrary to the Opinion of other Writers, that he was not yet out of his Majeſty's Favour. A.D. 1539 / A. 31 H. 8

In this Parliament there paſs'd an Act for ſuppreſſing the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, or Knights Hoſpitallers, whoſe principal Houſe was at St. *John's Clerkenwell*. They were vaſtly rich, having had the Lands of the Knights Templars conferr'd on them when that Order was ſuppreſs'd. The chief Inducement in the Preamble of the Act for their Diſſolution, was their Dependance on the Pope and the Emperor; but in reality, the King began to want Money again, as appears by his demanding large Supplies, both of the Clergy and Laity, which they durſt not refuſe him, notwithſtanding the Grants they had made him of the Lands belonging to the Religious Houſes, and now thoſe of the Knights of St. *John*'s; though ſome had the Courage in the Houſe of Commons, 'tis ſaid, to repreſent the Unreaſonableneſs of the Demand, after the King had poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the Wealth of the Monaſteries. Knights Hoſpitallers ſuppreſs'd.

*A.D.*1540

A 32 *Hen.* 8

Cromwell committed for High Treason.

This was but a short Session, the Parliament being prorogu'd on the 14th of *May*; after which the King began to shew his Displeasure against *Cromwell*, and on the 13th of *June*, caus'd him to be arrested by his Enemy the Duke of *Norfolk* for High Treason as he sat in Council, and afterwards committed him to the Tower. Bishop *Burnet* assigns several reasons of this great Minister's Ruin: He had, he observes, a Multitude of Enemies: The Nobility cou'd not endure to see a Person of that mean Extraction (the Son of a Blacksmith) possess'd of so many great Employments, and as the King's Vicegerent, take place of all of them: The *Popish* Party hated him for the Suppression of the Abbies, which was ascribed wholly to him; and the Duke of *Norfolk* was his implacable Enemy, as well on the Score of Religion, as upon other private Piques; and the Lady *Katherine Howard*, the Duke's Niece, being now the Object of the King's Affections, he found it no hard matter to give the King ill Impressions of his Minister: But the principal Inducement the King had to destroy *Cromwell*, it's said, was to ingratiate himself with the People, and remove the Odium from himself, by sacrificing the Person who had advis'd the Suppression of the Monasteries, and was suppos'd to have been the Author of several unpopular and arbitrary Schemes. But whatever might be the secret Motives for destroying this Great Man, he is charg'd in the Bill of Attainder chiefly with Heretical Tenets, and supporting Hereticks, and even with saying, *He wou'd draw his Sword in Defence of them, and die in that Quarrel; and that if he liv'd a Year or two, he hop'd it wou'd not be in the King's*

Several Reasons of his Ruin assign'd.

The Charge against him in the Bill of Attainder.

King's Power to prevent the Progreſs of it, or to that Effect; and thereupon he was attainted both of Treaſon and Hereſy. Nor is it at all improbable that his favouring the Reformation contributed very much towards his Fall, for we find Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Head of that Party, at the Hazard of his own Life, interpoſing in behalf of *Cromwell*, and repreſenting him as the moſt able and faithful Miniſter that ever ſerv'd his Majeſty. *A.D.* 1540 — *A* 32 *Hen.* 8

And now the King underſtanding that the Emperor and the *French* King were at variance again, and that he had no longer any reaſon to be apprehenſive of being attack'd by either of them, and conſequently was under no neceſſity of courting the *German* Princes any longer, determin'd to follow his own Humour, and to be divorc'd from *Anne* of *Cleve*, under pretence of a Precontract between her and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Son, notwithſtanding it had been prov'd to his Majeſty before his Marriage, that this Contract was only made between the Parents of the Parties during their Minority, and had been declar'd null in a legal way, of which the King's Council were then ſo well ſatisfied, that they look'd upon it as no manner of Obſtacle to the King's ſolemnizing his Marriage with the Lady *Anne*; but the King inſiſted further, that when he married the Queen, it was againſt his Will, and that he had not given *an inward Conſent*; that he had never *conſummated* his Marriage with her, *nor ever cou'd*, ſhe was ſo offenſive to him; and thus the Nation wou'd be depriv'd of a numerous Iſſue of his Majeſty, which they might expect if he married another Woman.

The King's Reaſons for divorcing himſelf from *Anne* of *Cleve*.

It

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It is presum'd all the World saw the Weakness of these Pretences, and that upon the like Suggestions any Marriage whatever might have been dissolv'd: However, the Parliament did not think fit to dispute his Pleasure, but upon an Intimation from Court that it would be acceptable to the King, they presented an Address to his Majesty, that he wou'd suffer the Legality of his Marriage to be examin'd, which the King assenting to, it was brought before the Convocation on the 7th of *July*, and on the 9th they gave Sentence for the Divorce, on the frivolous Allegations already recited, without ever giving the Queen an opportunity of opposing it, either in Person or by Proxy; and for corroborating this Sentence, the Parliament also pass'd an Act for annulling the King's Marriage, and made it High Treason to *believe* the said Marriage good: It does not appear that there was one dissenting Voice, either in the Convocation or the Parliament, so much was the King dreaded both by Clergy and Laity; or rather, so mean and abject a Spirit then possessed the *English* Nation: the King had used his Subjects like Slaves so long, that they seem'd to have nothing of the Freedom or Bravery that animated their Ancestors remaining amongst them. But to proceed.

The Parl. address the King to try the Legality of his Marriage. The Convocation declare it void.

An Act to annul the King's Marriage.

The King having acquainted the Queen with what was done, and declaring he wou'd take her for his adopted Sister, and settle 4000 *l. per Ann.* upon her, the good Lady readily accepted his Offer, and acquiesc'd in the Proceedings; nay, she sent to the Duke of *Cleve* her Brother, to assure him that she consented to the Divorce, and desir'd he wo[illegible]d

The Queen acquiesces in it.

wou'd ſtill entertain a Friendly Correſpondence with his Majeſty. *A.D.*1540

Another Act paſs'd this Seſſion, repealing ſo much of the Act for eſtabliſhing the Six Articles, as made it Death for a Prieſt or any that had vow'd Chaſtity to break their Vows, and declar'd that they ſhou'd only incur the Loſs of their Goods for the future. *A32Hen.8* Breaking Vows of Chaſtity no longer Capital.

Alſo an Act, that whatever the King's Commiſſioners ſhou'd determine concerning the Doctrines or Ceremonies of the Church, ſhou'd be obey'd by all the King's Subjects on pain of Death. Doctrines eſtabliſh'd by the King's Commiſſioners to be obey'd on Pain of Death.

Another Act, that Marriages actually conſummated, ſhou'd not be annull'd on pretence of Precontract, or any other Impediment, unleſs contrary to the Law of God.

The King having intimated to the Convocation again, that he was in great want of Money, the Clergy granted him 4*s.* in the Pound, to be rais'd within two Years: but when a Supply was demanded in the Houſe of Commons, it occaſion'd ſome warm Debates; they were aſtoniſh'd to find the King had already ſquander'd away the vaſt Treaſures ariſing from the Monaſteries, and ſome ſaid if they ſhou'd grant him their whole Eſtates, it wou'd not laſt him many Years; however, they durſt not long diſpute the matter with the King, but gave him a Tenth and two Fifteenths; after which the King was pleas'd to paſs an Act of General Pardon, but clogged with abundance of Exceptions, particularly of all that oppos'd his Supremacy, or the Six Articles; and the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, Cardinal *Pole*'s Mother, and *Cromwell*, were excluded by Name the Benefit of this Act of Grace. The King demands an Aid of the Convocation and Parliament. Which is granted with Reluctancy.

Cromwell

A.D.1540 — A 32 Hen. 8

Cromwell, who had now lain in the Tower six Weeks, and written several moving Letters, imploring his Majesty's Mercy, had some Hopes, it seems, of a Pardon, after so long a Reprieve; but the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Niece the Lady *Katherine Howard*, 'tis said, found means to defeat all the Efforts that were made to save him; whereupon he was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 28th of *July*, at which time he declar'd he died in the Catholick Faith, not doubting any Article of it, or any Sacrament of the Church, tho' he confess'd he had been seduc'd. Bishop *Burnet* however is of the Opinion that *Cromwell* died a *Lutheran*; but after such a Profession as he made at his Death, it must be allow'd to be very doubtful whether he did not die a Member of the Church of *Rome*.

Cromwell beheaded.

Doubtful whether he died a Protestant.

The King having been some time married to the Lady *Katherine Howard*, was pleas'd to declare her his Queen on the 8th of *August*. She was the Daughter of *Edmund Howard*, third Son of *Thomas* late Duke of *Norfolk*, who was the Son of *John* the first Duke of *Norfolk*; her Uncle the then Duke, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, are said to have made Use of their Interest in this Lady, to raise a fresh Persecution against the Protestants, but it appears however, that they were not able entirely to protect their own Party from feeling the Effects of the King's Displeasure, for Dr. *Barnes*, with *Gerrard* and *Jerome*, two other Priests, being condemn'd for Heresy, several others were at the same time condemn'd for denying the King's Supremacy, corresponding with *Pole*, *&c.* and one of each *viz.* a Protestant and a Papist, were coupled together, and in this manner drawn on Sledge

The King's Marriage with *Katherine Howard* declar'd.

Protestants and Papists drawn to Execution by Couples.

to the Place of Execution, where the Hereticks were burnt, and the Papists hang'd: which *every Body condemn'd*, (says Dr. *Burnet*) *as an extravagant Affectation of the Shew of impartial Justice.* *A.D.*1540 — *A* 32 *Hen.* 8

The latter end of this Year, the Foundation of a Rupture between *France* and *England* was laid, by the *French* King's building a Bridge at *Ardres* that extended into the *English* Pale. This occasion'd some Skirmishes between the Troops of the respective Nations, but the War was not declar'd till a Year or two afterwards. Hostilities between *France* and *England.*

By Virtue of a Bull of Pope *Paul* III. dated the 27th of *September*, 1540, the famous *Ignatius Loyala*, a Native of *Guipuscoa* in *Spain*, founded the Order of *Jesuits*, at this Day the most flourishing of all the Religious Orders in the *Roman* Church. The Order of Jesuits founded.

The following Year a Conspiracy against the Government was discover'd in *Yorkshire*, for which Sir *John Nevil*, said to be one of the Heads of the Malecontents, was beheaded at *York*; and whether the King suspected Cardinal *Pole* to be at the Bottom of the Plot, or for what other Reason does not appear, but he order'd the Countess of *Salisbury*, the Cardinal's Mother, then seventy Years of Age, to be beheaded in the Tower, where she had been imprison'd for two Years. This Lady being desir'd to lay her Head upon the Block, refus'd, declaring she was no Traytor, and told the Executioner, if he would have her Head, he should get it as he could; which occasion'd a Struggle between them; but at length he over-power'd the poor old Lady, and cut off her Head in a very indecent manner. Of all the Executions the King *A.D.*1541 — *A* 33 *Hen.* 8 — Another Plot discover'd. The Countess of *Salisbury* beheaded.

*A.D.*1541 commanded during his long and cruel Reign, this was look'd upon to be one of the moſt barbarous, and unbecoming a great Prince. She was his near Relation, the Daughter of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward* IV. and the laſt of the *Plantagenets*.

*A*33 *Hen.*8

Six new Biſhopricks founded.

In the mean time the King founded three new Biſhopricks, *viz.* *Cheſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Peterborough*, as he had done that of *Weſtminſter* in *December* the preceding Year; and in 1542 he founded thoſe of *Oxford* and *Briſtol*; but he did not aſſign above ſix thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* for the Endowing all ſix of them, out of thoſe vaſt Revenues he poſſeſs'd himſelf of by the Diſſolution of the Abbies.

The new Expoſition of Faith.

About the ſame time he caus'd the Expoſition of Faith, which had been drawn up by his Commiſſioners already mention'd, to be publiſh'd, and requir'd all his Subjects to believe neither more nor leſs than they were directed to believe by this Treatiſe, on pain of their being adjudg'd guilty of Hereſy.

Nor was he contented with modelling Religion according to his own Humour in *England*, but had laid a Deſign of bringing the King of *Scotland* his Nephew into his Meaſures, *viz.* to renounce the Pope's Supremacy, and ſeize the Abby-Lands in his Kingdom; and in order to it, had prevail'd with that young Monarch to have an Interview with him at the City of *York*, whither King *Henry* went this Summer, and made Preparations for the Reception of King *James*; but after his Majeſty had waited a conſiderable time, he was acquainted that his Nephew had alter'd his Mind, and did not think proper to give him a Meeting at *York*. Th

An Interview agreed on between the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*. *James* diſappoints K. *Henry*.

Clerg

Clergy of *Scotland*, by whom that Prince was govern'd, 'tis ſaid, had prevail'd upon *James* to put off this Interview, under an Apprehenſion that *Henry* would prevail on his Nephew to make ſome Alterations in Religion in *Scotland*. *A.D.* 1541. *A.* 33 *Hen.* 8.

While the King was waiting at *York* to have an Interview with the King of *Scotland*, a matter broke out which very much diſturb'd his Repoſe. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, during the King's Abſence, had been inform'd by one *Laſſels*, that his Siſter, a Servant to the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, had declar'd that the Queen frequently proſtituted herſelf before her Marriage with the King, and ſtill continu'd her laſcivious Courſes, and that two Men, in particular *Dirham* and *Mannock*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Domeſticks, had lain with her. This Archbiſhop *Cranmer* immediately communicated to the Lord Chancellor, and ſome others of the Privy-Council, and was adviſ'd to lay it before his Majeſty on his arrival from *York*; and accordingly *Cranmer* having drawn up ſome Minutes of the Accuſation, put them into the King's Hands. His Majeſty, who lov'd the Queen paſſionately, and had often given God Thanks for beſtowing ſo virtuous and agreeable a Wife upon him, did not at firſt believe one Word of the Charge againſt her; but propos'd however to make ſome Enquiry into it, with a Deſign rather to puniſh the Authors of the Calumny, than with any Expectations of ſeeing the Facts prov'd; but the Lord Privy-Seal being ſent to examine *Laſſels*, who perſiſted in his Evidence, *Dirham* and *Mannock* were apprehended, who confeſs'd they had enjoy'd the Queen ſeveral times,

The Queen accus'd of Adultery.

The Evidence againſt her.

*A.D.*1541 *A*33 *Hen.*8

times, in the Preſence of three of the Ladies of the Court, of whom the Lady *Rochford*, (who had accus'd Queen *Anne* of *Bolein* of lying with her Huſband the Lord *Rochford*) was one; it was alſo prov'd, that when the King lay at *Lincoln*, one *Culpepper* was introduc'd into the Queen's Bedchamber by the Lady *Rochford*, at eleven o'Clock at Night, and ſtaid there till four in the Morning, and that the Queen gave him a Gold Chain and a Cap at his going away; and that the Queen ſtill retain'd *Dirham* in her Service; from whence it was conjectur'd, ſhe continu'd that infamous Commerce with him.

Upon theſe Depoſitions it was thought fit to examine the Queen herſelf, and for that Purpoſe, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton* and the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter* were appointed to attend her. At her firſt Examination ſhe denied the whole Charge, but at the ſecond, ſhe confeſs'd ſhe had admitted ſeveral Men to her Embraces before her Marriage, which enclin'd the King to believe ſhe had not been faithful to his Bed afterwards, tho' ſhe perſiſted to the laſt, to deny ſhe had been guilty of any unlawful Commerce ſince ſhe was Queen. *Dirham*, *Mannock*, and *Culpepper*, however, were convicted in the ordinary Courts of Law and executed. But the King order'd the Queen to be impeach'd in the following Parliament, which aſſembled on the 16th of *January*, 1542: On the 28th the Lord Chancellor mov'd the Houſe of Lords to conſider the Charge againſt the Queen, which their Lordſhips having debated ſome little time, voted her guilty of High-Treaſon, in which the Commons concurr'd, upon the

Her Gallants executed. *A.D.*1542

*A*34 *Hen.*8 The Queen impeach'd in Parliament.

the Report made by the Archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Lords who took her Examination, (I don't find ſhe was brought before either Houſe to anſwer in Perſon) and an Act paſs'd accordingly, in the Preamble whereof they petition'd his Majeſty not to be troubled at the matter, leaſt it ſhould ſhorten his Life; that he would pardon every thing that had been ſpoken againſt the Queen; and that ſhe, with the Lady *Rochford*, and the reſt of her Accomplices, might be attainted of High-Treaſon. The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, (who had the Education of the Queen) with the Counteſs of *Bridgewater*, the Lord *Edmund Howard* and his Lady, with four other Men and five Women, that knew of the Queen's vicious Life before her Marriage and conceal'd it, were attainted of Miſpriſſion of Treaſon.

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And attainted with her Accomplices.

It was alſo Enacted, that whoever ſhould know of the Incontinence of any future Queen and conceal it, ſhould be adjudg'd guilty of High-Treaſon; and if the King ſhould intend to marry another Woman, who was not a Maid, and ſhe ſhould conceal her Incontinence, ſhe ſhould incur the Guilt of High-Treaſon; and all who ſhould know of ſuch Incontinence before Marriage, and conceal it, ſhould be adjudg'd Guilty of Miſpriſſion of Treaſon; and if a Queen, or the Prince's Wife, ſhould procure any Perſon to lie with either of them, ſuch Offence ſhould be adjudg'd High-Treaſon.

Treaſon to know of a Queen's Incontinence and conceal it. Treaſon not to come a Virgin to the King's Bed.

An Intrigue with the Queen or Princeſs Treaſon.

This Act having receiv'd the Royal Aſſent by Commiſſion, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 12th of *February*, the Queen at her Death again proteſting ſhe had never been falſe to the

The Queen and Lady *Rochford* beheaded.

*A.D.*1542 *A.*34*Hen*8

the King's Bed, tho' ſhe acknowledg'd ſome Miſcarriages in her former Life.

The King's Severity in puniſhing the Queen's Grand-mother, and the reſt of her Relations, for not diſcovering the Frailties of their Kinſwoman to his Majeſty before he married her, was look'd upon as a very extraordinary Piece of Tyranny, and it was concluded, that the Act would deter any Virgin from marrying the King, leſt he ſhould take it into his Head that ſhe was not a Maid, and cauſe her to be executed for High-Treaſon; which happen'd accordingly, for he was forc'd to content himſelf with a Widow afterwards.

The King firſt ſtil'd King of *Ireland*.

The Parliament of *Ireland* having lately paſs'd an Act for erecting that Dominion into a Kingdom, the *Engliſh* Parliament confirm'd it in this Seſſion, and ever ſince our Kings have been ſtil'd Kings of *Ireland*.

An Act annulling the local Statutes of Colleges and Hoſpitals.

Another Act was made for annulling the local Statutes of all Colleges and Hoſpitals, the King having a Deſign to ſeize on theſe as he had done on the Abbies; for the Governors of theſe Houſes had no Power to ſurrender them, without the Conſent of the whole Society, till the local Statutes were aboliſh'd by this Act.

At the ſame time abundance of Objections were made to the new Tranſlation of the Bible, by the Popiſh Party in the Convocation, with a Deſign either to ſuppreſs it, or delay the publiſhing of it; but it was however diſpers'd throughout the Kingdom the following Year. And Biſhop *Burnet* relates *, 'that in Order to expoſe the Superſtition of 'the

* *Biſhop* Burnet's Hiſt. Reformation, *Vol.* I. *p.*

'the Monks and the biggotted Clergy, Stage-Plays and Interludes were frequently acted, and often *in Churches*. These Poems, he says, were ill-contriv'd, and worse expres's'd, if their lies not some hidden Wit in these Ballads, (for Verses they were not) which at this Distance is lost. But from the representing the Immoralities and Disorders of the Clergy, they proceeded to Act the Pageantry of their Worship. This took with the People much, who being provok'd by the Miscarriages and Cruelties of some of the Clergy, were not ill-pleas'd to see them and their Religion expos'd to publick Scorn. The Clergy complain'd much of this, and said it was an Introduction to Atheism, and all sorts of Irreligion; for if once they began to mock sacred Things, no Stop could be put to that petulant Humour. The grave and learned sort of Reformers dislik'd and condemn'd these Courses, as not suitable to the Genius of true Religion: But the political Men of that Party made great Use of them, encouraging them all they could; for they said, Contempt being the most operative and lasting Affection of the Mind, nothing could more effectually drive out many of those Abuses which yet remain'd, than to expose them to the Contempt and Scorn of the People.'

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A. 34 *Hen.* 8

Plays acted in Churches to expose the Popish Clergy.

The King having been disappointed the last Year of having an Interview with the King of *Scotland*, whereby he propos'd to have brought him into his Measures, finding that Prince was not to be wrought upon by fair means, determin'd to invade his Country, and see what effect that would have upon him;

The King resolves on a War with *Scotland*.

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him; and first his Majesty sent an Embassy to *France*, to renew his Alliance with that Crown, that the *Scots* might receive no Succours from thence; but the *French* King shew'd no Inclination to confirm his Treaties with *England*; there had been some Skirmishes between the Troops of the two Nations near *Calais*, and several Ships had been taken by the Subjects of both Princes, which had created ill Blood; from whence *Henry* conjectur'd, that the *French* King would not stand neuter, if he attack'd their old Ally King *James:* But a War happening soon after between the Emperor and *France*, the King of *England* found himself at liberty to prosecute his Designs upon *Scotland*, and as Princes seldom want Pretences for breaking with their Neighbours when they are dispos'd to Quarrel, it was pretended that the Truce had been violated by the *Scots*, that they had possess'd themselves of some Lands upon the Borders that belong'd to *England*, and that *James* had entertain'd some *English* Malecontents: But as it was foreseen that the *Scots* would probably offer Satisfaction for any thing of this kind, King *Henry* thought fit also to renew his Claim to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*, and accordingly publish'd a very long Declaration on that Head, containing the Proofs of the Homage which *Scotland* had paid to *England* in the Reigns of *Edward* I. *Edward* III. and in several other Reigns, and which had been confirm'd and submitted to by the Nobility and States of *Scotland* with all possible Solemnity.

Reasons assign'd for this War.

King *Henry* claims the Sovereignty of *Scotland.*

When the King of *Scots* heard of the Preparations that were making in *England*, he sent an Embassy to King *Henry* to treat with him,

him; but their Instructions not coming up to what *Henry* expected, he order'd the Duke of *Norfolk* to march into *Scotland* with twenty thousand Men, and to make a Shew at least of ravaging the Country, which that General did the latter end of *October*, burning some open Towns and Villages, and then retir'd to *Berwick*, the King having no other Design at that time than to alarm the *Scots*, and bring their King to Terms; and indeed, as the Winter was approaching, it cou'd not be suppos'd that the King of *England* wou'd attempt the Conquest of that frozen Country at that Season.

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The *English* Army ravages the Border of *Scotland.*

James receiving Advice that the *English* were retir'd to *Berwick*, order'd the Lord *Maxwell*, with an Army of fifteen thousand Men, to advance into *England* on the Side of *Carlisle*, and make Reprizals for the Damage the *Scots* had sustain'd; but *James* afterwards giving the Command of his Army to *Oliver Sinclair*, one of his Favourites, 'tis said the *Scotish* Nobility and Generals were so offended at it, that they began to mutiny, and a Body of five hundred *English* Horse appearing near their Camp about the same time, they apprehended the Duke of *Norfolk* and the whole *English* Army were about to attack them, and thereupon took to their Heels and fled. The *English* Horse observing their Confusion, pursu'd them closely, and having kill'd great Numbers of the Run-aways, made seven Noblemen Prisoners, together with two hundred Gentlemen, and eight hundred Soldiers, and took all their Artillery and Baggage; which Misfortune had such an Effect upon King *James*, according to the Generality of our Writers, that he fell sick

The *Scots* enter *England*, but are dispers'd by a small Party of *English* Horse, and several Noblemen made Prisoners.

*A.D.*1542 and died a few Days afterwards, *viz.* on the 14th of *December*, 1542; tho' others affirm that he was actually with his Army, and receiv'd a Wound in his Flight, of which he died. He left no other Children but one Daughter about a Week old named *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *Scotland* (and Mother of King *James* I. of *England*) who was beheaded by Queen *Elizabeth* for Reasons of State, as will be related hereafter.

*A.*34*Hen.*8

The King of *Scotland* dies.

The *Scotish* Noblemen, who had been made Prisoners being brought to *London*, were committed to the Tower; but the King sent for them not long after to *Westminster*, and having first expostulated with them for advising their King to break with him, he gave them to understand, that he had no Antipathy to their Nation, and instead of remanding them to Prison, committed them to the Care of several Noblemen. The Earl of *Cassilis* in particular was order'd to reside in the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Palace, where, according to Bishop *Burnet*, he was first instructed in the Principles of the Reformation, and became a zealous Promoter of it in his own Country.

The King proposes a Match between his Son *Edward* and the young Queen of *Scotland*.

Upon Advice of the Death of King *James*, some few Days after *Henry* had another Conference with his Prisoners, wherein he propos'd a Match between his Son Prince *Edward* and *Mary* their Infant Queen, which those Gentlemen seeming to approve of, and promising to promote, he gave them Liberty to return home, on their leaving Hostages as a Security for their surrendering themselves again, in case the Match did not succeed.

King *Henry* soon after sent an Ambassador to propose the Marriage to the States of *Scotland*

land, who were then assembled in Parliament; *A.D.* 1543
but he met with a very warm Opposition from *A.* 35 *H.* 8
the Queen Dowager and Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, who were both of them in the Interest of *France*. However, the Earl of *Arran* the Regent, and the Noblemen who return'd from *England*, being for it, by the Power of a little Money well apply'd, a Treaty was concluded with the *English* on that Head, wherein it was agreed, that there should be a lasting Peace establish'd between the two Nations, that the young Queen shou'd be sent into *England* at ten Years of Age, that four *Scotish* Lords shou'd be appointed by that Parliament to take care of her Education in the mean time, and that King *Henry* might appoint a Fifth to attend her. This was confirm'd by the Parliament of *Scotland*, who agreed also to deliver three Hostages as a Security that the Marriage shou'd be duly solemniz'd.

Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Edward* and the Queen of *Scotland*.

But the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal afterwards made such an Interest among the *Scotish* Nobility, that they refus'd to perform the Treaty, and give the three Hostages that had been promis'd, when the *English* Ambassador came to demand them; whereupon the Ambassador represented to the Noblemen that had been Prisoners in *England*, that they ought to return thither again as they had promis'd; however, they all determin'd to break their Parole of Honour, except the Earl of *Cassilis*, who voluntarily return'd to the Court of *England*; at which King *Henry* was so well pleas'd, that he dismiss'd him again with rich Presents. However, as the *Scots* had peremptorily refus'd to execute the Treaty they had made with *England*, chiefly at the Instance of the

Defeated by the Queen Dowager and Cardinal *Beaton*.

*A.D.*1543 *French*, who ſent over the Earl of *Lenox* about the ſame time with conſiderable Sums to diſperſe amongſt them; his Majeſty thought fit to declare War againſt that Nation, as he did not long after againſt *France*.

A 35 *Hen.* 8

War declar'd againſt *Scotland* and *France*.

The King having aſſembled a Parliament the 22d of *January*, in order to enable him to make Preparations for both theſe Wars, demanded proportionable Supplies both of the Clergy and Laity; whereupon the Convocation granted his Majeſty ſix Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years out of the Revenues of their Benefices; and the Parliament gave an Aid proportion'd to the Condition of the People, *viz.* Perſons who were poſſeſs'd of Goods above the Value of twenty Shillings and under five Pounds, were to pay four Pence in the Pound; from five Pounds to ten Pounds, eight Pence in the Pound; from ten to twenty, ſixteen Pence in the Pound; and where a Perſons Effects amounted to above twenty Pounds, two Shillings in the Pound: And Foreigners were to pay double.

The Parliament and Convocation grant Supplies.

A Proportionable Tax.

Another Act paſs'd this Seſſion, which permitted all Gentlemen and Merchants to have a Bible in their Houſes, with ſome other Books allow'd by the Government, for the Inſtruction of their Families in the *Chriſtian* Religion; but were prohibited to have any other Religious Books than thoſe ſpecified in the Act. It was alſo Enacted, that where any of the Clergy were accus'd of Hereſy, the Pain of Burning ſhould not be inflicted on them until the third Offence; and that the Laity ſhould ſuffer only the Loſs of Goods and Impriſonment, if they were convicted

An Act permitting the Bible in private Houſes.

Hereſy not to be puniſh'd ſo ſeverely as formerly.

victed of Heresy, and the Prisoner was to be prosecuted within a Year after the Fact. *A.D.* 1543

A 35 *Hen.* 8

In the mean time his Majesty enter'd into an Alliance with the Emperor against *France*, for which *Rapin* blames him extremely, and indeed he seems to think the *English* always in the wrong, if they resented any Insults or Injuries committed by his Countrymen. This Treaty between the Emperor and *Henry*, was concluded at *London* the 11th of *February*, 1543: The Purport whereof was, that they should send Ambassadors to *Francis*, to require him to break his Alliance with the *Turks*, and have no further Correspondence with the Infidels, and to demand Satisfaction for the Damages *Christendom* had sustain'd by the *French* King's calling in the Armies of the Infidels; that he should cease to make War on the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty might be at liberty to repel those Enemies of the *Christian* Name; that he should cause the Town of *Marain* to be restor'd, that was taken by the *Turks*, as well as *Castro novo*, which had been taken by the Infidels with the Assistance of the *French* Gallies; that *Francis* should pay the King of *England* all the Money that was due to him, and for securing the Payment of the Annual Tribute for the future, should surrender the County of *Ponthieu*, with the Towns of *Bologn*, *Montrevil*, *Ardres*, and *Terouen* to the *English*; and that *Francis* should restore to the Emperor the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

An Alliance against *France*.

The Terms.

If *Francis* delay'd ten Days to comply with these Demands, they were to declare War against him, and not make Peace till *England* had recover'd *Normandy* and *Guienne*, and indeed the whole Kingdom of *France*; and

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and till the Emperor had poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Abbeville*, *Bray*, *Corbeil*, *Peronne*, *Ham*, St. *Quintin*, and the Dutchy of *Burgundy*.

The King marries a ſixth Wife.

The King determining to marry again, found himſelf under greater Difficulties than heretofore, for he had render'd himſelf ſo terrible to the Women, by cutting off two of his Wives Heads, and more eſpecially to the Maids by the Act above-mention'd, making it High-Treaſon not to come Virgins to his Bed, that he was under a Neceſſity of taking up with a Widow; whereupon he married the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Widow of the late Lord *Latimer*, in *July* 1543, and ſhe too was in great danger of her Life, when ſhe diſcover'd herſelf to be of a different Faith from what the King had preſcrib'd to her and the reſt of his Subjects. To ſuch Pride and Arrogance was this Prince arriv'd, that whoever refus'd to ſubmit their Underſtanding and Conſcience to his Dictates, and to alter their Creed as often as he was pleas'd to alter his Mind, were immediately deſtin'd to Deſtruction.

Three Proteſtants burnt at *Windſor*.

This Year were three Proteſtants burnt at *Windſor*, by the Contrivance of Biſhop *Gardiner*, as 'tis ſaid; but the King diſcovering there was a Deſign to betray and ruin ſeveral other Families in that Place, by Dr. *London* and *Simmonds*, *Gardiner*'s Creatures, ſent for them, and charg'd them with it; but *London* and *Simmonds* both denied the Conſpiracy on their Oaths; whereupon their Letters were produc'd againſt them, and being convicted of Perjury, they were ſentenc'd to be ſet on Horſeback, with their Faces to the Horſes Tails, and to be led thro' the Town, with Papers on their Breaſts declaring their Perjury;

Their Proſecutors puniſh'd.

jury; after which they were set in the Pillory in *Windsor*, *Reading*, and *Newbury*. The Execution of which Sentence broke Dr. *London*'s Heart, and he died soon after, as Bishop *Burnet* relates. *A.D.*1543 *A*35 *Hen.*8

But the great Sacrifice projected by *Gardiner*, was that of *Cranmer*, the Patron of the Reformers; he suggested to the King, that *Cranmer*'s Opinions were very different from the Doctrines his Majesty requir'd his Subjects to profess, in many Instances; and this Charge was supported by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the rest of the Enemies of the Reformation. The King seeming at first to encourage the Accusation, they proceeded to enumerate several Particulars, and were order'd thereupon to reduce them into Writing, and bring them to his Majesty, who no sooner receiv'd the Paper, but he went over to *Lambeth*, and communicated it to the Archbishop, letting him know at the same time, that he was so far from being offended with his Conduct, that he would have him prosecute his Accusers; but this *Cranmer* thought fit to wave, being very well satisfied with the good Opinion his Majesty still had of him, without taking Revenge on those who would have destroy'd him.

Cranmer charg'd with Heresy.

He is protected by the King.

In the mean time the War between the Emperor and *France* was carried on in several Parts of *Europe*, particularly in the *Low-Countries*, where the Imperialists were re-inforc'd by a Body of six thousand *English*, under the Command of Sir *John Wallop*. *Francis* finding himself not an equal Match for these potent Confederates, had call'd in the *Turk* to his Assistance, as has been intimated already, and the *Turkish* Admiral, the famous

The *French* King enters into an Alliance with the *Turks*.

*A.D.*1543 famous *Barbaroſſa*, being join'd by the Gallies of *France*, made himſelf Maſter of the
*A.*35 *Hen.*8 Town of *Nice* this Year; but the Caſtle making a brave Defence, the *Turks* were oblig'd to abandon it again.

The latter end of the Year, *viz.* the 23d of *December*, the King was pleas'd to create
Creations of Nobility the Lord *Parr* the Queen's Brother, Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *William Parr* her Uncle, Lord *Parr* of *Horton*.

*A.D.*1544 The Parliament aſſembling the 14th of *January*, another Act was made to limit the
*A*36 *Hen.*8 Succeſſion of the Crown, after the Death of his Majeſty and Prince *Edward* without Iſſue,
Another Act limiting the Succeſſion of the Crown. to the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* ſucceſſively, and to their reſpective Heirs, on ſuch Conditions as the King ſhould appoint; and in default of Iſſue of the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, then to ſuch Perſons as the King by his Letters Patents, or his Laſt Will, ſhould direct. A new Oath was likewiſe requir'd to be taken, for renouncing the Pope's Supremacy, and ſupporting the Succeſſion as eſtabliſh'd by this Act; and the refuſal of it,
Treaſon to oppoſe it. as well as the oppoſing the Succeſſion thus limitted, was made High-Treaſon.

Another Act paſs'd, declaring the King's
The King's Title. Title to be, *King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of* England *and* Ireland.

By a third Act, none were to be proſecuted on the ſix Articles, or for Hereſy, but by Indictment, or the Preſentment of a Jury, and the Proſecution to be within a Year after the Offence committed.

But the moſt unjuſt Act that paſs'd this Seſſion, was that empowering the King to defraud

defraud all his Creditors, and where any of them had receiv'd their Debts, or any part of them, they were to repay the Money back again into the Exchequer; for which indeed there was a Precedent in the 21st Year of this Reign, when the King was authoris'd in like manner to wipe off all his Scores. *A.D.* 1544. *A.* 36 *Hen.* 8. The King discharg'd of all his Debts.

An Act also was made for the Confirmation of some former Acts, which empower'd the King to appoint thirty-two Commissioners to examine the Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and to confirm such as were agreeable to the Scriptures and the Laws of the Land. Ecclesiastical Commissioners appointed.

Soon after the rising of the Parliament, the Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, and *Dudley* Lord *Lisle*, the *English* Admiral, were order'd to invade *Scotland* by Sea and Land, in order to compel the *Scots* to perform the late Treaty of Marriage between Prince *Edward* and the young Queen *Mary*. Accordingly the *English* Generals enter'd *Scotland*, took *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and having ravag'd the Country, retir'd to *Berwick*, the King having no Design of making a Conquest of that Kingdom. At the same time the Earl of *Lenox*, having been disoblig'd by the *French* and *Scotish* Courts, offer'd his Service to King *Henry*, together with the Earl of *Glencairne*, and a Treaty was concluded between the Court of *England* and those two Lords, who stipulated to cause the pure Word of God to be preach'd in their several Districts in *Scotland*; that they would use their utmost Endeavours to deliver the Queen of *Scots* into the King's Hands; that they would assist his Majesty with their Troops to obtain the Administration of the Government *Scotland* invaded. *Edinburgh* plunder'd. A Treaty between King *Henry* and the Earl of *Lenox*.

*A.D.*1544 *A.* 36 *H.*8

of *Scotland*; and that they would leave the Biſhop of *Cathneſs* and *Hugh Cunningham* in the Court of *England*, as Hoſtages for the Performance of theſe Articles.

The King ſtipulated on his part, that his Army ſhould not ravage the Lands of the two Earls; that the Earl of *Lenox* ſhould be appointed Regent of the Kingdom under his Majeſty, and have part of the Revenues of the Crown aſſign'd him, to maintain his Dignity; and that if the young Queen died, the King would aſſiſt the Earl of *Lenox* to take Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and ſet aſide the Earl of *Arran*; that the Lady *Margaret Douglas* the King's Niece, ſhould be given in Marriage to the Earl of *Lenox*; (as ſhe was ſoon after) and that the Court of *England* would pay the Earl of *Glencairne* a Penſion of one thouſand Pounds *per Ann.*

By a ſubſequent Article, the Earl of *Lenox* was to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, and the Iſle of *Bute*, into the King's Hands, and his Majeſty was to allow him a Penſion of ſeventeen hundred Marks, and a Reinforcement of five hundred Men, to make a Diverſion in *Scotland*.

But *Lenox* afterwards coming to *Dunbritton-Caſtle* with a Squadron of *Engliſh* Ships, and five or ſix hundred Men, could not perſuade his Deputy Governor to deliver it up to the King; whereupon he ſail'd to the Iſlands of *Bute*, *Arran*, and *Kentire*, with the *Engliſh* Troops, and a Body of his own Vaſſals, and having plunder'd thoſe Iſlands, return'd to *England*. The *Engliſh* Army alſo ravag'd the *Scotiſh* Borders a ſecond time. But this rough Uſage, inſtead of bringing the *Scots* to Terms, only made them unite the more firmly

Earl of *Lenox* makes a Diverſion in *Scotland*.

firmly againſt the *Engliſh*, and created ſtill a greater Averſion in them to the Performance of the Marriage Contract between their Queen and the Prince of *Wales*. However, the *Scots* having been defeated in ſeveral Encounters, and the King apprehending no Diſturbance from that Quarter, firſt ſent over a Body of Troops to *Calais*, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, which join'd a Detatchment of the Imperialiſts under the Count de *Bure*, and laid Siege to *Montrevil*, and the King himſelf with the remainder of the Army embark'd for *France* in the middle of *July*, with an Intent to join the Emperor's Army, and march directly to *Paris*, at the Head of an hundred thouſand Men, as had been concerted between them; but the Emperor thinking it proper in the firſt place to make himſelf Maſter of St. *Didier*, and ſome other Towns in *Champaign*, would have prevail'd on King *Henry* to march up to *Paris* with the *Engliſh* Army only, while he reduc'd *Champaign* under his Obedience: By which King *Henry* diſcovering that the Emperor regarded nothing but his own Intereſt, and never intended to perform the late Treaty, thought fit to lay Siege to *Bologne*, which ſurrender'd the 14th of *September* *; whereupon the King left a ſtrong Garriſon in the Place, under the Command of Admiral *Dudley*, and return'd to *England*. Soon after which the Dauphin ventur'd to advance towards *Bologne* with forty thouſand Men, and the

A.D. 1544
A 36 *Hen.* 8

The King embarks with an Army for *France*.

King *Henry* lays Siege to *Bologne*.

* *The Town of* Bologne *was inveſted by the Duke of* Suffolk *on the* 19*th of* July, *and the King came into the* Engliſh *Camp on the* 26*th, as appears by a Journal of that Siege in* Rymer's Fœdera, *Vol.* XV. *p.* 52.

*A.D.*1544 *A*36*Hen.*8 the Breaches not being yet repair'd, ſurpriz'd the Lower Town; but was however beat out of it again, by the *Engliſh* Garriſon in the Upper Town, and oblig'd to abandon the Place.

The Emperor makes Peace with *France*.

While the King of *England* was engag'd in the Siege of *Bologne*, his faithful Ally the Emperor privately negotiated a Peace with *France* at *Creſpy*, without including *Henry* in it, or ſhewing any regard to his Intereſts, and the Treaty was ſign'd between thoſe two Powers on the 19th of *September*, five Days after *Bologne* was taken by the *Engliſh*.

Colleges and Hoſpitals ſurrender'd to the King.

This Year the King procur'd the Surrenders of ſeveral Colleges, Collegiate Churches and Hoſpitals, by the ſame Arts he had us'd to poſſeſs himſelf of the Monaſteries, and all of them were recited to be *voluntary*, tho' few People were ignorant of the Force that was put upon them.

*A.D.*1545 *A*37*Hen.*8 The *French* looking upon it of the laſt Importance to their Kingdom to recover *Bologne* and *Calais* out of the Hands of the *Engliſh*, and having no War with the Emperor or any other Prince at this time, determin'd to aſſemble ſuch powerful Fleets and Armies as ſhould reduce the Places the *Engliſh* were poſſeſs'd of in *France* in one Campaign. The firſt Step they took towards this great Undertaking, was the attempting to build a Fort at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Bologne*, to prevent any Relief being thrown into the Place by Sea; but after the *French* General the Marſhal *de Biez* had made ſome Progreſs in Building the Fort, he was driven from thence by the Governor of *Bologne*, and compell'd to leave it unfiniſh'd. Whereupon the *French* concluding they ſhould never be able

The *French* attempt to build a Fort on the Harbour of *Bologne*.

able to take *Bologne* unleſs they were Maſters at Sea, fitted out a Fleet, which with the Ships they hir'd of the *Genoeſe* and other Powers, amounted to between two and three hundred Sail, and with theſe they ſtood over to the Coaſt of *Kent*, in queſt of the *Engliſh* Fleet, which conſiſting then of no more than ſixty Sail, after a faint Reſiſtance retir'd towards *Sandwich*. *A.D.* 1545 *A* 37 *Hen.* 8

The *French* did not think fit to follow them over the Sands, but made a Deſcent, firſt on the *Iſle of Wight* and afterwards on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, where they burnt ſome Villages, but were afterwards encounter'd by the *Engliſh* Forces, and oblig'd to return to their Ships. In the mean time the *Engliſh* Fleet being encreas'd to an hundred Sail and upwards, ſtood to Sea and gave the *French* Battel, and after a Fight of two or three Hours, oblig'd them to retire to their own Coaſts; whither the *Engliſh* follow'd them, and made a Deſcent in *Normandy*, and ravag'd the Country, by way of return for the Miſchief the *French* had done upon the Coaſt of *England*. The *French* Fleet inſult the Coaſt of *England*. The *French* Fleet return home. The *Engliſh* make a Deſcent on *France*.

As the *Engliſh* were now Maſters at Sea, the *French* made another Attempt to erect a Fort at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Bologne*, to prevent the Town's being reliev'd by Sea; and march'd down their whole Army, conſiſting of two hundred thouſand Men, with Orders to protect their Workmen while the Fort was finiſh'd, and then to lay Siege to *Bologne*. But the Marſhal *deBiez*, who commanded the *French*, receiving Advice that the King of *England* was embark'd with a great Army, and deſign'd to give him Battel, and that he was to be join'd by a Body of ten

or

*A.D.*1545 twelve thouſand *Germans*, the Marſhal left the Fort unfiniſh'd, and withdrew his Army from before *Bologne*. And thus ended the Campaign for which the *French* had made ſuch mighty Preparations by Sea and Land, tho' it appear'd afterwards, that King *Henry* had no Intention to tranſport more than ten or fifteen thouſand Men, to re-inforce the Garriſons of *Calais* and *Bologne*, when the *French* retir'd in ſuch Confuſion.

A 37 *Hen.* 8

The *French* Army removes from *Bologne*.

The Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King's ſecond Son, dying about the ſame time, who by the Treaty of *Creſpy* was to have married one of the Emperor's Daughters, and to have had with her either the Dutchy of *Milan* or the Earldom of *Flanders*, in conſideration of twenty Towns in *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, which *Francis* had reſign'd to the Emperor, and for which his Imperial Majeſty would now make no Satisfaction. *Francis* foreſeeing he ſhould ſoon be engag'd in a War with the Emperor again, thought it expedient to make Peace with *Henry*, and accordingly procur'd the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* to offer their Mediation between the two Crowns. Thoſe Princes undertaking this friendly Office, their Plenipotentiaries met thoſe of *France* and *England* in *Picardy*, between *Calais* and *Ardres*; but *Henry* refuſing to deliver up *Bologne*, or to include the *Scots* in the Treaty, it came to nothing. In the mean time *Henry* ſent the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Weſtminſter* to negotiate a Peace with the Emperor, as the readieſt means to bring the *French* King to his own Terms; and *Francis* on the other hand, in order to diſtreſs the *Engliſh*, tranſported a Body of five thouſand Men to *Scotland*, under the Command of

5000 *French* ſent to aſſiſt the *Scots*.

of Seigneur *de Lorges*, who being join'd with ten thouſand *Scots*, march'd towards the *Engliſh* Borders; but that People had ſo lately experienc'd the Danger of provoking *Henry*, that they could not be prevail'd on to paſs the *Tweed* and become the Aggreſſors, but hearing the Earl of *Hertford* was marching againſt them, they ſoon after retir'd and diſpers'd their Army. *A.D.*1545 *A*37 *Hen.*8

The *Scots* refuſe to invade *England*.

While Dr. *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the great Patron of the Papiſts, was abſent on his Embaſſy to the Emperor, Biſhop *Burnet* relates, that *Cranmer* prevail'd on King *Henry* to conſent to a further Reformation of Religion; but *Gardiner* receiving Advice of it, wrote to the King to acquaint him, that if he proceeded to make any further Alterations in Religion, it was probable that the Emperor and moſt of the Powers of *Europe*, would enter into a Confederacy againſt him; which made the King cautious how he proceeded; however, *Cranmer* procur'd the See of *York* and ſeveral other vacant Biſhopricks, to be fill'd up with Prelates that favour'd the Reformation.

Cranmer's attempts to further the Reformation.

Biſhops made inclin'd to the Reformation.

And now, by the frequent intercourſe between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, the Proteſtant Religion had got ſome footing in *Scotland*. Biſhop *Burnet* relates, that one *Wiſhart* a Gentleman of that Nation, who had receiv'd his Education, and taken his Degrees in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, returning to his own Country, began every where to preach up the Doctrine of the Reformation, and being excluded from Officiating in their Churches, preach'd to multitudes of People in the open Field, at which Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, was ſo exaſperated, that having

The Reformation introduc'd in *Scotland*.

*A.D.*1545 — *A* 37 *Hen.*8

ving gotten *Wiſhart* into his Hands, he caus'd him to to be tried and condemn'd for an Heretick, without the Regent's Knowledge or Conſent, (which Biſhop *Burnet* affirms was contrary to the Laws of *Scotland)*; however, poor *Wiſhart* was burnt in purſuance of that Sentence the following Year, before the Archbiſhop's Palace, who ſtood at a Window to behold the Execution; which *Wiſhart* obſerving, Biſhop *Burnet* affirms, that the Martyr foretold that the Cardinal ſhould very ſuddenly periſh in the ſame Place. Certain it is, there was an Inſurrection at St. *Andrews* ſome few Days afterwards, and the Malecontents murder'd the Cardinal in his own Caſtle there, which they fortified and held out till Relief was ſent them from *England*. However, they were at length oblig'd to ſurrender, by the Aſſiſtance of the *French* Troops, and could obtain no better Terms than the pardoning of their Lives, on Condition they ſhould all quit the Kingdom.

Wiſhart burnt for Hereſy in *Scotland*.

Cardinal *Beaton* murder'd.

This Year died *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who was for the moſt part extremely dear to his Majeſty, on Account of his Genius to Martial Exerciſes, and his Succeſſes in the Field, and in ſingle Combats at Juſts and Tournaments, Exerciſes the King delighted much in. He married *Mary* the King's youngeſt Siſter, and Dowager of *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, by whom he left two Daughters, that King *Henry* appointed to ſucceed to the Crown ſucceſſively, after the Death of the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* without Iſſue, as he was empower'd to do by the Act of the 35th of *Henry* VIII. above-mention'd.

Charles Brandon Duke of *Suffolk* dies.

The

The Parliament meeting on the 23d of *November*, in consideration of the great Charges the King had been at in the *French* and *Scotish* Wars, granted to his Majesty all the Colleges, Free-Chapels, Chantries, Hospitals, Fraternities, Brotherhoods, and Guilds in *England*, with their Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, upon a Supposition that those who enjoy'd them misapplied their Revenues, or did not live up to the Rules prescrib'd by their Donors and Benefactors, (nor were the Colleges in the Universities excepted out of this Grant, tho' the King was so good, upon the Petition of the Universities, not to suppress them). However, the King would not be satisfy'd with this, but demanded further Supplies both of the Clergy and Laity; and the Convocation were oblig'd to add two Shillings in the Pound for two Years to their former Grant. The Laity laid two Shillings and eight Pence in the Pound on Goods, and four Shillings on Lands, to be paid in two Years. On the presenting of these Aids, the Speaker of the Commons made a flattering Speech to his Majesty, to which the King return'd a very long and remarkable Answer, (to be seen in Lord *Herbert* * at large): He tells the Speaker, that he thank'd him for the noble Qualifications he had ascrib'd to him, not that his Majesty imagin'd he was really possess'd of them, but he was oblig'd to the Speaker, he said, for putting him in mind of his Duty, that he might attain those excellent Qualities and Virtues that every Prince and Governor ought to have: Then his Majesty

A.D. 1545. *A* 37 *Hen.* 8. Colleges, Hospitals, &c. granted to the King by Act of Parliament.

Besides great Taxes.

The King's last remarkable Speech to his Parliament.

* Herbert, *in* Compleat Hist. of England, *Vol.* II. *p.* 253.

*A.D.*1545 *A*37 *Hen.*8

jesty thanks the Commons for the Subsidy they had granted; but observes, that the Conquest and Preservation of *Bologne*, that occasion'd this Expence, was no less for his Subjects Advantage than his own, that Port having been a very troublesome Neighbour to *England*, while it remain'd in the Enemies Hands: He said he rejoic'd in the Trust the Parliament had repos'd in him, in granting him the Colleges, Hospitals, *&c.* without his asking, assuring them they should be dispos'd of to the Glory of God and the Good of the Kingdom, *(viz.)* to the Support of the Ministers of the Church, for the Encouragement of Learning, and the Relief of the Poor, they need not doubt but their Expectations in these Particulars would be fully answer'd and even exceeded; and as he found *that no Sovereign on Earth was ever more belov'd of his Subjects*, he should always be an indulgent Father to them, and readily expose his Person as well as his Treasure in their Defence: However, he thought fit to reprove them for their uncharitable Differences in Religious matters, for he understood they were perpetually preaching against, reproaching and reviling each other; some were too stiff, he thought, in their old Opinions, and others too zealous and furious for the new; all Places were full of Variance and Discord, neither Clergy nor Laity seem'd to be possess'd of that Temper which was the true Characteristick of a *Christian*. He was sorry to see that the Word of God, which he had caus'd to be translated, that every one might read it and be instructed in their Duty, was made a Bone of Contention, and disputed, rhim'd, and sung in every Alehouse and Tavern;

vern; that the Word of God, inſtead of improving them, had made them worſe; for Religion never was leſs reverenc'd, nor was there ever leſs Charity, Virtue or Piety in the World, than at that time: He exhorted therefore, and requir'd them, as he was their Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, to live in Charity like Brethren, and to love and reverence God; concluding with an Exhortation to ſee the Laws duely put in Execution in their ſeveral Counties. *A.D.* 1545 — *A.* 37 *Hen.* 8

I could not forbear giving an Abſtract of the Speech, as it was an excellent Compoſition of the kind, and gives us a better Idea of thoſe Times, than any thing I have met with in ſo ſhort a Compaſs; eſpecially as it happen'd to be the laſt Speech this Prince ever made in Parliament.

I ſhall conclude the Tranſactions of this Year with obſerving, that the famous Council of *Trent* was open'd on the 13th of *December*, to whoſe Determinations the Emperor requir'd the *German* Proteſtants to conform on pain of his Diſpleaſure; in which however they did not think fit to obey him, it being compos'd of their moſt inveterate Enemies. The Council of *Trent* open'd.

The *French* having loſt *Bologne*, ſtrengthen'd the neighbouring Garriſons, and ſupplied them with Proviſions and Warlike Stores, and one of their Convoys advancing pretty near the Town of *Bologne*, the Earl of *Surry* ſallied out and attack'd them, but had the Misfortune to be repuls'd, and driven into the Town in ſome Confuſion. Advice whereof coming to the Court of *England*, the King was ſo exaſperated at the Earl's ill Conduct, that he turn'd him out of his Government, and *A.D.* 1546 — *A* 38 *Hen.* 8 — The Earl of *Surry* defeated by the *French*. Turn'd out of his Government of *Bologne*.

A.D. 1546 and sent the Lord *Gray* to succeed him; and Advice coming soon after, that the *French* intended to cut off the Communication between *Calais* and *Bologne*, the King order'd a Detachment of the Army, consisting of ten thousand Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Hertford*, to post themselves between those two Towns, and cast up Redoubts and Lines to prevent that Design; which the Earl of *Hertford* happily finish'd a Day or two before the *French* Troops arriv'd: and not long after a Treaty of Peace was set on Foot betweewn the two Crowns, both Princes looking upon it as their Interest to be reconcil'd, that they might put themselves in a Posture to defeat the Emperor's Projects, who was still thought to have a View towards Universal Monarchy; and a Peace was accordingly concluded between *England* and *France* on the 7th of *June*, the most considerable Articles whereof were, that *Francis* should for the future regularly pay the Annual Tribute of an hundred thousand Pounds, due to *England* by the Treaty of *More*, concluded the 30th of *August*, 1525, together with the Tribute of Salt, valu'd (afterwards) at ten thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

A. 38 *Hen.* 8

A Peace between *England* and *France*. The Articles.

That *France* should pay to *England* at *Michaelmas*, 1554, two Millions of Crowns, part whereof was the Arrears of Tribute, and the rest for the Charges the *English* had been at in taking *Bologne*.

The *French* King was also to repay five hundred thousand Crowns more, which King *Henry* had presented him with, on Condition he should punctually perform his Treaties, if it appear'd *Francis* had not perform'd them.

And

A.D. 1546
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And it was further agreed, that the *Engliſh* ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of *Bologne* till all theſe Payments were made, and then it was to be reſtor'd. It was alſo agreed, that no new Fortreſs ſhould be erected in the *Bologneſe* that was not already begun. The Emperor was included by both Parties, and the *Scots*, on Condition they gave *Henry* no freſh Diſturbance.

Henry ſeizes the Church Plate and Ornaments, and extorts a Benevolence from the People.

The taking and keeping of *Bologne* having coſt *Henry* upwards of thirteen hundred thouſand Pounds, he was ſtill in great want of Money, which put him upon ſeizing the Plate and Ornaments of the Churches, and extorting a Benevolence from the People, whoſe Spirits were ſo perfectly ſubdu'd, that it does not appear any one had the Courage to complain of theſe Outrages.

Henry propoſes a Reformation to *Francis*.

And now *Henry* again propos'd it to his Ally of *France*, to renounce the Pope's Supremacy, to aboliſh the Maſs, and introduce a Reformation in the Worſhip and Diſcipline of the Church in both Kingdoms; and *Cranmer* was order'd to form a Plan of the Worſhip and Ceremonies of the Church, fit to be retain'd. *Francis*, it ſeems, amus'd the King of *England* for ſome time, with Expectations of his complying with *Henry*'s Schemes, in order to obtain his Ends in other reſpects; but it appears that the *French* King deſign'd nothing leſs than the promoting a Reformation, for he perſecuted the Proteſtants in his Dominions at the ſame time, with the greateſt Fury imaginable, and ſeems rather to have inclin'd *Henry* to renew the Perſecution in *England*, than to have been prevail'd on by him to concur in the Reformation of Religion; for Dr. *Shaxton*, who had reſign'd the Biſhoprick

*A.D.*1546 Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury* to avoid being perſecuted for Hereſy, was nevertheleſs tried and condemn'd for an Heretick, in denying the real Preſence in the Euchariſt, about this time, and only ſav'd his Life by a formal Abjuration. Mrs. *Anne Aſkew*, a Perſon of Diſtinction, who had a good Intereſt among the Ladies of the Court, was charg'd alſo with denying the real Preſence ſoon after, and even put to the Rack to oblige her to confeſs her Accomplices; but ſhe bearing the Torture heroically without diſcovering of her Friends, was burnt as an Heretick. When ſhe was at the Stake, the poor timerous *Shaxton* was made uſe of as a Tool to perſuade her, and ſome other Perſons who ſuffer'd with her, to recant; he even charg'd them with Obſtinacy, and being the Authors of their own Deſtruction, in a Diſcourſe he made on that Occaſion.

A. 38 *Hen.* 8

The Proteſtants perſecuted in *England* again.

Mrs. *Aſkew* burnt.

The Patrons of Popery finding the King give way to theſe Proſecutions, and imagining now he was intirely theirs, had the Aſſurance once again to charge *Cranmer* with Hereſy; but his Majeſty expreſſing his Reſentment at their Inſolence in attacking a Prelate he ſo ſignally favour'd, they thought fit to deſiſt. However, this did not diſcourage them from making an Attempt on the Queen herſelf. The King, it ſeems, being grown fat and unwieldy, and in continual Pain with a ſore Leg, which render'd him exceeding peeviſh, her Majeſty diſcourſing with him one Day on ſome controverted Points of Religion, he was ſo provok'd at the ſmart Repartees ſhe made him, that he complain'd of her to *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; this Prelate, glad of ſo favourable an Opportunity, confirm'd him in

Cranmer proſecuted again.

in his Suſpicions of the Queen, and proceeded to accuſe her, not only of Hereſy, but of Deſigns againſt his Perſon and Government, in which being ſupported by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord Chancellor *Wriotheſly*, and the whole Popiſh Party, his Majeſty was prevail'd on to ſign certain Articles againſt her Majeſty, and a Warrant to commit her to the Tower; but happily for the Queen, the Chancellor who had the keeping of the Articles, loſt them out of his Pocket, and they were taken up by one of the Queen's Friends and carried to her Majeſty, who obſerving the Danger ſhe was in, went immediately to the King, as if ſhe was ignorant of the matter, and diſcourſing with him as uſual upon the Subject of Religion, ſeem'd to ſubmit to his Opinion in every Inſtance, and to admire his Wiſdom and Judgment in theſe Controverſies; which had ſuch an Effect upon his Majeſty that he perfectly forgave her, and took her into Favour again, and the Chancellor coming with the Guards the next Day to arreſt the Queen, as had been concerted, the King reprimanded him ſeverely; and from that Inſtant began to ſhew an uncommon Indignation againſt all the Popiſh Party; but none were made more ſenſible of his Reſentment than the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Family.

A.D. 1546

A 38 *Hen.* 8

The Queen charg'd with Hereſy.

A Warrant ſign'd for her Commitment.

The King reconcil'd to her.

The King, as well as the *Seymours* (Uncles to Prince *Edward*) were apprehenſive, that upon the demiſe of the Crown, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Papiſts would endeavour to ſet the Princeſs *Mary* upon the Throne, to the Excluſion of the Prince, and as they would be ſupported by the Emperor and other foreign Powers in an Attempt of this Nature, there

The Ruin of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Family determin'd.

*A.D.*1546 *A*38 *Hen* 8

there was but too great a Probability of their ſucceeding; it was alſo inſinuated, that the Earl of *Surry*, the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Son, kept himſelf unmarried, with a View of making the Princeſs *Mary* his Wife as ſoon as the King's Eyes were clos'd. But whatever were the King's Inducements to deſtroy the *Norfolk* Family, he no ſooner diſcover'd an Averſion to the *Howards*, but all their Enemies (as is frequently the Caſe of falling Courtiers) officiouſly endeavour'd to confirm his Majeſty's Suſpicions, and to render themſelves acceptable, by relating every little Circumſtance that might promote the Duke's Diſgrace; among theſe the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, the Duke's Wife, and his Daughter, were the chief, and the more hearken'd to as they were ſo nearly related to him. The Dutcheſs, it ſeems, was provok'd by her Lord's forſaking her Bed for four Years together, and ſpending his time among his Miſtreſſes; and their Daughter the Dutcheſs of *Richmond* being inclin'd to the Proteſtants, was carried ſo far by a Zeal for her Party, as to do her Father and Brother all manner of ill Offices on this Occaſion; nay, it appears that Mrs. *Holland*, one of the Duke's Miſtreſſes, became an Evidence againſt him; ſo that there was no part of his private Converſation or unguarded Diſcourſe, but was brought to his Majeſty, on which, no doubt, the worſt Interpretation was put, till at length we find it ſwell'd into a Charge of High-Treaſon againſt the Father and Son.

His Dutcheſs and his Daughter promote his Diſgrace.

One of his Miſtreſſes an Evidence againſt him.

The principal Evidence againſt the Earl of *Surry* was Sir *Richard Southwell*, who charg'd him with treaſonable Diſcourſes, which the Earl denied, deſiring to be fairly tried,

The Duke and his Son proſecuted for High-Treaſon.

tried, or that he might engage *Southwell* in single Combat, in his Shirt, to vindicate his Loyalty. But the Earl was committed to the *Tower* by the Lords of the Council the 3d of *December*, and the Duke his Father the next Day. *A.D.*1546 *A.*38 *Hen.*8 Committed to the Tower.

They were both of them indicted afterwards of High-Treason, and the Indictments found by the Grand Jury of the County of *Norfolk*, upon very slender Evidence, as the Lord *Herbert* relates. The principal things they were charg'd with, were their complaining against the King that he excluded them from his Councils; that they had reveal'd his Majesty's Secrets, and threaten'd that they would be reveng'd on the *Seymours* on the demise of the Crown, which they apprehended not far off. Evidence was also brought of their asserting their Right to bear the Arms of the Royal Family; but that which touch'd the Earl of *Surry* the most nearly, was his Correspondence with Cardinal *Pole* a Traytor, which was attested by Sir *Edward Knevet*, from whence it was inferr'd, that the *Norfolk* Family had concerted Measures with the Enemies of the Kingdom abroad, to restore the Pope's Supremacy, and to exclude Prince *Edward* from the Throne. And we find that the King order'd his Ministers to acquaint the Foreign Ambassadors, that the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son had conspir'd to usurp the Government in his Life-time, and to defeat Prince *Edward*'s Succession to the Crown. Indicted. The Charge against them.

The Earl of *Surry* being a Commoner, was tried at *Guildhall* by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer; where, it is said, he made a notable Defence, shewing the im- The Earl of *Surry* tried by a Jury.

*A.D.*1546 probability of his saying some Words he was charg'd with, and the different Meaning of others which had been wrested to make them bear a Criminal Sense. But he was found Guilty notwithstanding, by the Jury, and beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 19th of *January*.

A. 38 *Hen* 8 condemn'd and executed.

While the Prosecution was carrying on against the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Surry*, the King thought fit to revise his Will that he made on his entring upon the late Expedition against *France*, and ordering it to be written over again, he struck Bishop *Gardiner* out of the Number of his Executors, declaring he knew the Bishop's Temper, and tho' he could govern him, those that succeeded him would find it difficult to manage that Prelate.

The King's Will.

By this Will the King limited the Succession of the Crown, on failure of Issue of Prince *Edward*, to the Princess *Mary* and her Issue, provided she married with the Consent of the major part of his Executors; Remainder to the Princess *Elizabeth*, on the like Condition; Remainder to *Francis Brandon*, eldest Daughter of his Sister *Mary*, by the Duke of *Suffolk*; Remainder to *Eleanor Brandon* the second Daughter; and in default of Issue of all of them, the Crown was to descend to the King's right Heirs. He constituted sixteen Executors, most of them of the Privy-Council, *viz.* Dr. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly*, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford* Uncle to Prince *Edward*, the Lord *St. John*, the Lord *Russel*, the Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Dr. *Tanstal* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Montague*, Mr. Justice *Bromley*, Sir

He gives the Crown to the Issue of his Sister *Mary*, on the Death of the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* without Issue, to the Exclusion of the *Scotish* Line.

Sir *Edward North*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Harberd*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* his Brother; and these were also appointed to be of Prince *Edward*'s Privy-Council during his Minority. He order'd each of the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, an Annuity of three thousand Pounds *per Ann.* and ten thousand Pounds in Money, if the Executors thought fit. A.D. 1546 — A 38 Hen. 8

The Queen had a Legacy of three thousand Pounds given her, to be laid out in Jewels and Plate, and a thousand Pounds in Money, over and above her Dower. Every Executor who was a Peer, had a Legacy of five hundred Pounds bequeath'd him, and the rest three hundred Pounds a piece.

Here *Rapin* makes a Doubt whether the King sign'd his Name to the Will or stamp'd it, and seems to infer, that if he stamp'd his Name the Will was not good. But since eleven Witnesses have attested it was sign'd by the King's own Hand in their Presence; since it was prov'd as such by his Executors, and enroll'd in Chancery; since the Legacies and Bequests the King made in it, both of Land and Money, were perform'd and satisfied; and since the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* succeeded by Virtue of this Will (for both of them were declar'd Illegitimate by Act of Parliament, and consequently could have no Hereditary Right) there seems very little Reason to dispute the Validity of the Will, especially since it was never done till the *Scots* question'd it many Years after, because their Princes were excluded from succeeding to the Crown of *England*, till the *Suffolk* Family should be extinct. But I refer the Reader to the

Question whether the King's Will was duly sign'd

*A.D.*1546 *A.*38 *Hen.*8

the Will itſelf, atteſted by eleven Witneſſes, whoſe Credits were never call'd in Queſtion, and to the Remarks of *J. Hales*, in the Year 1563, when this matter came to be controverted.

But to return to the Proſecution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. This Nobleman remaining ſtill a Priſoner in the Tower, wrote to the King to know the Occaſion of his Diſgrace, proteſting he had never harbour'd a Thought that was undutiful to his Majeſty, and could not conceive what he had taken Offence at. But finding this had no Effect, he alter'd his Tone, and confeſs'd he had been guilty of concealing that his Son had Quarter'd the Arms of *Edward the Confeſſor*, and that himſelf had born the Arms of *England* in the firſt Quarter of his Arms, with a Difference of the Labels of Silver, which only belong'd to the King's eldeſt Son; and this he acknowledg'd to be High-Treaſon. But neither did this at all mollify the King, his Majeſty ſtill ſeem'd determin'd to deſtroy him; and for that Purpoſe only, 'tis ſaid, the Parliament was aſſembled in the beginning of *January*, in which a Bill was paſs'd to attaint the Duke of High-Treaſon, without ſuffering him to make his Defence. The Bill receiv'd the Royal Aſſent by Commiſſion, on the 27th of the ſame Month, and a Warrant was immediately ſign'd for the Duke's Execution on the 29th of *January*; but the King dying in the Night between the 28th and 29th, the Duke had the good Fortune to eſcape.

The Duke of *Norfolk* juſtifies his Innocence.

Afterwards confeſſes himſelf guilty of High-Treaſon.

A Bill of Attainder of High-Treaſon paſs'd againſt the Duke.

The King's Death prevents the Duke's Execution.

While the King lay on his Death-Bed, 'tis obſerv'd, he appear'd much more ſolicitous to ſecure the Crown to his Son *Edward*, by the

The King's Behaviour on his Death-Bed

the Deſtruction of the Duke and the Earl, than about his own Salvation; nor durſt any of his Courtiers put him in mind of his approaching End, leſt it ſhould be interpreted a capital Offence, till ſome few Hours before he expir'd, when it is ſaid, Sir *Anthony Denny* one of the Privy-Council, had the Courage to obſerve his Majeſty had but a little while to live, and to move his ſending for ſome Divine to attend him in his laſt Moments; however, the King took the Admonition more kindly than was expected, and deſir'd that Archbiſhop *Cranmer* might be ſent for; but it was now too late, he was Speechleſs before the Archbiſhop arriv'd; his Grace however, deſiring the King would give ſome Sign of his dying in the Faith of *Chriſt*, he ſqueez'd the Archbiſhop's Hand, and ſoon after reſign'd his Breath, being then in the 56th Year of his Age, and the 38th of his Reign.

His Character examin'd.

Our Hiſtorians relate, that 'this Prince 'had all the Qualifications of Nature and 'Education, with no leſs Perfections of 'Mind and Body; that his Perſon was 'extraordinary, tall, and majeſtick, of a 'mighty Strength and Activity; that his 'Looks were great and ſurprizing, and his 'whole Countenance beſpoke the Monarch; 'that his Mind was ſtill more capacious than 'his Body, vigorous and vaſt; his Temper 'generous and fiery; his Spirit magnanimous and invincible; and his Judgment 'profound and penetrating; ſo that with all 'his Failings he was every way a proper Inſtrument to effect thoſe amazing Works 'deſign'd by Providence. And again, that 'with all his Crimes and Exorbitances, he 'was

'was one of the moſt glorious Princes of his 'time.'

The Deſcription of this Prince's Perſon may probably be very juſt; but after a full View of his Reign, I ſee no Reaſon to alter the Character given of him in a former Eſſay. The beginning of his Reign appears to have been ſpent in Maſks, Shews, Revelling, and a moſt profuſe and unbounded Expence, and the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father *Henry* VII. not only diminiſh'd but entirely ſquander'd away in a few Years. We may obſerve further, that there was but one Seſſion of Parliament in fourteen Years, and inſtead of the antient legal methods of raiſing Money, Loans, Benevolences, and other oppreſſive ways were taken to extort Money from the Subject.

As we advance further we ſee innumerable Acts of Injuſtice and Cruelty, his beheading his Queens, his executing the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Bucks*, the Counteſs of *Saliſbury*, the Earl of *Surry*, Sir *Thomas More*, and old Biſhop *Fiſher*. We ſee his Ingratitude in deſtroying *Woolſey* and *Cromwell*, thoſe great Miniſters, whoſe principal Crimes were their Obſequiouſneſs and Submiſſion to his Pleaſure. We ſee him torturing and burning Proteſtants and Papiſts promiſcuouſly in the ſame Fires, becauſe they could not believe what he was pleas'd to dictate.

And were there ever greater Acts of Tyranny exercis'd upon Clergy and Laity, upon Parliaments and Convocations? How many Abſurdities, Contradictions, and ridiculous Laws did he make them enact? How did he condemn the whole Nation in a Præmunire, for obeying Powers of his own introducing and

and approving? And did he not make them paſs a Law that his Proclamation ſhould be of the ſame Authority as an Act of Parliament, which at once deſtroy'd the whole Conſtitution?

And then, if we obſerve his unexampled Rapine and Sacrilege, in deſtroying Churches, Monaſteries, Colleges, and Hoſpitals, and ſeizing the Revenues, Plate and Ornaments to his own Uſe, to that immenſe Value, and at the ſame time, turning out ten thouſand of the Religious to ſtarve at once; his aſſuming all ſpiritual Authority that *Chriſt* himſelf had, and iſſuing Commiſſions to his Biſhops, to Adminiſter the Sacraments, Ordain and Conſecrate, and perform their whole Spiritual Function; I ſay, if we reflect on theſe things, *How can we look upon him as a glorious Prince? How can we ſay he was a proper Inſtrument to effect a Reformation?* That God can bring the greateſt Good out of Evil, and turn thoſe very Counſels that were intended for the Deſtruction of a Church and Nation, to their Advantage, is not to be doubted.

But ſhall we applaud a Prince who accidentally was the Occaſion of ſome Good, when 'tis apparent he deſign'd the greateſt Miſchief? What worſe could happen to the Subjects of this Kingdom, than to be depriv'd of their Eſtates, their Lives, their Laws, Liberties, and whole Conſtitution, at the Tyrant's Pleaſure, and to be debarr'd even from *thinking* contrary to his Commands? As in the Caſe of his Marriages and Iſſue, it was made High-Treaſon to *believe* ſome of the King's Marriages to be valid, or his Iſſue legitimate.

But

But above all, to have new Creeds and Articles of Religion impos'd both on the Clergy and Laity, on pain of Burning and the moſt exquiſite Tortures, and theſe ſubject to be chang'd and alter'd by the King every Day; that a Man might be Orthodox in his Opinion one Day, and burnt for the ſame Principles the next: This was, no Doubt, a very deſirable Situation of Affairs for the People! We cannot but look upon this King as a moſt glorious Prince, and every way a proper Inſtrument to bring about a Reformation!

And to enquire a little into the Courage and Reſolution of this Prince, upon which ſo great a Streſs is laid, that it is ſaid to deface all his Crimes. It is very evident that he did not throw off the Church of *Rome*, but the Church of *Rome* threw off him; for when he found things coming to extremity, he made his formal Submiſſion to that See in Writing, which they proudly and fooliſhly refus'd to accept, having determin'd the Caſe againſt him, two Days before the Courier arriv'd with the Inſtrument of his Submiſſion.

And then, for his Policy in ſelling the Lands of the Religious Houſes at eaſy Rates to the Nobility and Gentry, this is acknowledg'd to be *Cromwell*'s Project: And beſides, if he had never ſeiz'd thoſe Houſes, he had never brought that general Odium upon him as to occaſion an Inſurrection: Theſe People were already ſo frighten'd by *Cromwell*'s Viſitation, and his ſeizing ſome of them, that they might have been brought to any Terms, and themſelves made Inſtruments of cutting off the Pope's Authority; 'tis plain the Abbots themſelves concurr'd and voted in abridging

bridging the Pope's Authority, till they began to apprehend a general Diſſolution of their Houſes, and then indeed they fled to the Pope as their only Refuge: It was very natural to expect they would do ſo. But further, does any Man at this Day believe that King *Henry* had any other Deſign in demoliſhing and plundering the Monaſteries than the enriching himſelf? And if he had not, I think ſuch Conſequences as he neither expected or foreſaw, but were only accidentally the Effects of his covetous and rapacious Actions, are not to be attributed to him, any more than the Salvation of the World is to be imputed to *Judas* or *Pontius Pilate*, who intended no ſuch thing, but an Advancement of their own Authority or Intereſts.

Our Author tells us indeed, that this King's Luſts and other Vices have been unreaſonably exaggerated; but whether from the Facts themſelves, admitted on all hands, he does not appear as vile, as cruel, and tyrannical as he can be repreſented, may be made a Doubt; and to ſay, the Concurrence of the Clergy and Parliament, in many of his worſt Actions, ought to be ſome Excuſe for him, this ſurely was an Aggravation, and the higheſt Act of Tyranny, to compel them to enact Laws and declare their Approbation of Facts they knew to be falſe, unjuſt, or ridiculous.

Not that thoſe mean and ſordid Compliances of the Convocation and Parliament, of the Clergy and Laity in general, are ever to be excus'd; they will remain an indelible Blot upon that Age, and gives us a very low and abject Opinion of thoſe Aſſemblies; but at the ſame time it exalts the Virtue, Courage,

and Merit of thoſe few Heroes who were burnt, tortur'd, and deſtroy'd, rather than deny their God and their Principles, and ſacrifice their Integrity to the Tyrant's Pleaſure, and that at a Time when the whole Legiſlature were ſo corrupted and debas'd.

His Title. As *Henry* VIII. was the only ſurviving Son of *Henry* VII. and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. and the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* were united in his Perſon, no Objection was ever made to his Title as I can recollect, unleſs when the Pope declar'd his Dominions forfeited for renouncing the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*.

His Marriages and Iſſue. This King had ſix Wives, the firſt was *Katherine*, the younger Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* King and Queen of *Spain*, and Relict of Prince *Arthur* his elder Brother, to whom ſhe had been married about five Months. King *Henry* VIII. ſolemniz'd his Marriage with this Princeſs on the 3d of *June*, about ſix Weeks after his Acceſſion.

He had Iſſue by this Wife two Sons, who died ſoon after they were born, and one Daughter, nam'd *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *England*.

King *Henry* being divorc'd from Queen *Katherine*, married a ſecond Wife, *viz.* the Lady *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*. By this ſecond Wife King *Henry* had Iſſue a Daughter, nam'd *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards Queen of *England*. Her Mother Queen *Anne* being charg'd with Incontinence, was arraign'd for High-Treaſon, and afterwards beheaded.

Soon

Soon after the Execution of *Anne Bullen*, the King married a third Wife, *viz.* the Lady *Jane Seymour*, Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, by whom he had Iſſue only one Son, nam'd *Edward*, who afterwards ſucceeded him.

Queen *Jane* dying in Childbed of her Son *Edward*, King *Henry* married *Anne* of *Cleve*, Siſter to *William* Duke of *Cleve*; but entertaining an Averſion to her, he procur'd a Divorce, and married the Lady *Katherine Howard* his fifth Wife, who was Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*. This Lady, being charg'd with Incontinence, he beheaded about three Months after he married her.

His ſixth Wife was the Lady *Katherine Par*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Par*, and Widow and Relict of *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*. This Lady ſurviv'd the King, but had no Iſſue by him.

Out of the numerous Religious Houſes, Colleges and Hoſpitals ſuppreſs'd by *Henry* VIII. he founded ſix new Biſhopricks, re- His Religious Foundations and other Buildings.
founded *Chriſt's-College* in *Oxford*, and *Trinity* in *Cambridge*, and left all the reſt of the Colleges in *Oxford* and *Cambridge* in the ſame Condition they were before the Parliament made him a Preſent of them; he inſtituted alſo Profeſſors of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Languages, of Divinity, Civil Law, and Phyſick, in both Univerſities, endowing each Profeſſorſhip with forty Pounds *per Ann.* He founded a College for thirteen poor Knights at *Windſor*, and gave the Gray-Friars Houſe in *London*, with Lands of the Value of five hundred Marks *per Ann.* to the City, for the Relief of their Poor, which was the Original of *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, ſince applied to the Main-

tenance and Education of poor Orphans, and augmented so considerably, that it is become one of the noblest Charities in *Europe*. He enlarg'd and beautified the Palace of *Whitehall*, and built that of St. *James*'s, converting the Fields between them into a pleasant Park; and the fine Palace of *Hampton-Court* built by Cardinal *Wolsey*, he receiv'd as a Present from that Prelate, and left it to his Successors.

Remarkables in this Reign. Beer, Turkeys, Carp, Hops.

About the middle of this Reign several things were introduc'd into *England*, that we were but little acquainted with before, as Beer, Hops, Turkeys, Carps, and Pickarel or Jacks.

Leaden Pipes.

In the 30th Year of this Reign, Leaden Pipes were first us'd for bringing Water into Houses from distant Places.

Guns.

Iron Guns were first cast in *England* in the 35th Year of this Reign, at *Buckstead* in *Sussex*, by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*, and

Pistols.

about the same time Pistols began to be us'd by the Horse.

The Sleeper.

And among the Remarkables, we must not omit *William Foxly*, who belong'd to the Mint in the Tower, and in the 37th of this Reign, is said to have slept fourteen Days and Nights, by several of our Historians, which seem'd to him but one Night when he wak'd.

Casualties. Sweating Sickness.

The sweating Sickness visited *England* in the 9th Year of this Reign, and swept away great Multitudes of People, carrying off the Patient frequently in two or three Hours. It began in *July* and continu'd till *December*. The People were again afflicted with the same Disease in the 20th Year of the Reign, which was no less mortal.

There

There was ſo ſevere a Froſt in the 15th Year of this Reign, that many loſt their Fingers and Toes; and in the 19th there was ſuch a Glut of Wet during the Seed-time, that it occaſion'd a very great Scarcity. Hard Froſt. Exceſſive Rains.

In the 33d Year of this Reign was a great Drought, ſome Rivers were dried up, and the People were generally afflicted with Fevers and Fluxes. Great Drought.

And in the 36th, a Plague in *London*, which occaſion'd the adjourning *Michaelmas-Term* to St. *Albans*. The Plague.

As to the Taxes in this Reign, never were heavier laid upon the People, notwithſtanding the prodigious Treaſure the King found in his Exchequer at his Acceſſion, the immenſe Riches he obtain'd by ſeizing on the Monaſteries, Colleges and Hoſpitals, with all their Plate, Ornaments, Furniture and Revenues; notwithſtanding the Wealth he gain'd by the Ruin of Cardinal *Wolſey*, *Cromwell* the Vicegerent, and ſeveral other Noblemen of Diſtinction, whoſe Eſtates were forfeited to the Crown; and by condemning the whole Clergy in a Præmunire. He frequently demanded and receiv'd two Shillings in the Pound, both of the Clergy and Laity; he iſſu'd Privy Seals, on which he borrow'd large Sums, and then procur'd Acts of Parliament to defraud his Creditors; and having extorted Benevolences till the whole Kingdom was impoveriſh'd, he at laſt debas'd the Coin, to ſupply his unbounded Expences; inſomuch that ſome of the Commons rightly obſerv'd, if they had granted him their whole Eſtates, he would have ſquander'd them away in a few Years. Taxes in this Reign.

Beſides

Statutes pas'd in this Reign.

Beſides the Statutes already mention'd relating to Religion and the State, there were a great many others paſs'd in this Reign that deſerve our Notice.

Clergy taken away.

By the 4 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 2. Murderers and Robbers are depriv'd of the Benefit of Clergy.

Surgeons.

By 6 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 6. Surgeons are exempted from ſerving on Juries, Watches, or Pariſh Offices in *London.*

Members of the Commons.

By 7 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 16. The Members of the Commons are requir'd not to leave the Houſe before the end of the Seſſions, on pain of loſing their Wages.

College of Phyſicians

By 14 and 15 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 5. The King's Letters Patents for Incorporating the Phyſicians of *London* are confirm'd; whereby all Perſons are prohibited practiſing Phyſick within ſeven Miles of *London*, without their Permiſſion.

Hares.

By 14 and 15 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 10. Every Perſon is prohibited tracing and killing Hares on the Snow, on pain of 6 *s.* 8 *d.* for every Offence.

Executors.

By 21 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 4. Where Lands are devis'd to Executors to be ſold, part of the Executors, who take upon them the Execution of the Will, may ſell the Lands.

Mortuaries

By 21 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 6. It is aſcertain'd what ſhall be paid for Mortuaries. The higheſt Mortuary being fix'd at 10 *s.*

Servant Robbery.

By 21 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 7. It is made Felony for a Servant to rob his Maſter or imbezzle his Goods, to the Value of 40 *s.*

Stoln Goods.

By 21 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 11. Goods ſtoln from a Man ſhall be reſtor'd him, on the Conviction of the Felon.

By

By 21 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 13. A Clergyman is prohibited to trade or to hold a Farm; and if he accepts a ſecond Living, he thereby forfeits the firſt, unleſs he is a Chaplain to the King or Queen, or to ſome Nobleman or Great Officer of State, or is a Doctor, *&c.* in one of the Univerſities. And the Number of Chaplains that every Biſhop and Nobleman may take is limited. See 25 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 16. Pluralities. Chaplains.

By 21 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 15. Leſſees and Tenants ſhall enjoy their Farms, notwithſtanding any Common Recoveries ſuffer'd of them. Leaſes, Recoveries.

By 22 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 5. The Juſtices of Peace are empower'd to tax their ſeveral Counties, *&c.* towards the Repair of Bridges. Bridges.

By 22 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 9. Wilful poyſoning was made High-Treaſon, but that Statute was repeal'd by 1 *Ed.* 1. *Cap.* 12. Poyſoning.

By 23 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 2. The Juſtices of Peace are empower'd to tax their reſpective Counties, *&c.* towards the building Jayls. Jayls.

By 23 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 10. Aſſurances of Lands to the Uſe of Churches, Chapels, Church-Wardens, *&c.* are declar'd void. Mortmain, Churches.

By 23 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 15. It is Enacted, that where the Plantiff is nonſuited, the Defendant ſhall recover Coſts. Coſts.

By 24 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 3. It was Enacted, that Beef and Pork ſhould be ſold for an Halfpenny a Pound, and Veal for three Farthings. Price of Meat.

By 24 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 5. That no Perſon ſhould forfeit Lands or Goods, for killing a Perſon attempting to commit a Murder or Robbery. Indemnity for killing a Felon.

By 25 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 3. Clergy is taken away from Priſoners that ſtand Mute, or Challenge Clergy, Standing Mute.

Challenge. Challenge peremptorily more Jurors than they are allow'd to challenge by Law.

Buggery. By 25 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 6. Buggery with Man or Beaſt, is made Felony without Benefit of Clergy.

Pyrates. By 27 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 4. and 28 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 15. It is Enacted, that Pirates ſhall be tried according to the Courſe of the Common Law.

Uſes transferr'd into Poſſeſſion. By 27 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 10. Enacted, that where any Perſon ſhall ſtand ſeiz'd of any Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, or other Hereditaments, to the Uſe, Confidence, or Truſt of any other Perſon or Perſons; every Perſon or Perſons, to whoſe Uſe, *&c.* ſuch Lands, *&c.* are limited, ſhall be deem'd ſeiz'd and poſſeſs'd of the ſame.

Jointure, Dower. It is alſo Enacted by the ſame Statute, that a Woman ſhall not enjoy both her Jointure and Dower, but ſhe may accept or refuſe a Jointure made after Marriage.

Bargain and Sale enroll'd. By 27 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 16. Enacted, that no Lands ſhall paſs by Deed of Bargain and Sale, unleſs the ſame be enroll'd.

Vacant Benefice. By 28 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 11. Fruits taken during the Vacation of a Benefice, are to be reſtor'd to the next Incumbent.

Palace of *Weſtminſter.* By 28 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 12. It was Enacted, that the Limits of the King's Palace ſhould extend from *Charing-Croſs* to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and be Privileg'd as other Palaces are.

Reſidence, Clergy. By 28 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 13. Clergymen are requir'd to be reſident on their Livings.

Price of Wine. By 28 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 14. The Price of *French* Wine is ſettled at Two-pence a Quart, and Sack and other ſweet Wines, at Three-pence.

By

By 31 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 1. Joint Tenants and Tenants in Common, are compellable to make Partition. Joint Tenants, Partition.

By 31 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 10. The Precedency of the Lords in Parliament is settled. Precedency, Peers.

By 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 1. and 33 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 5. Persons are empower'd to dispose of their Lands by their Last Wills in Writing. Wills.

By 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 7. Every Person is requir'd duly to let out his Tithes, or he may be su'd for them in the Spiritual Court. Tithes.

By 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 28. It is declar'd what Leases shall be good. Leases.

By 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 32. Joint Tenants and Tenants in common may be oblig'd to make Partition. Joint Tenants, Partition.

By 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 36. Fines levy'd by Tenant in Tail, bar the Heirs of his Body. Fines, Tenants in Tail.

By 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 40. Further Privileges are granted to the Physicians of *London.* Physicians

By 33 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 1. A Punishment is inflicted on them that defraud others of their Money, *&c.* by false Tokens or Counterfeit Letters. False Tokens.

By 33 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 24. No Person shall be Justice of Assize in his own County. Judges of Assizes.

By 34 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 13. The County and City of *Chester* were first authoriz'd to send Members to Parliament. *Chester* Parliament.

The End of the Reign of HENRY VIII.

CHAP. XXXI.

Contains the Reign of EDWARD VI.

A.D. 1547 — *A.* 1 *Edw.* 6

THE Death of King *Henry* VIII. having been conceal'd by the Council till the 30th of *January*, the Lord Chancellor then acquainted the Parliament with the demiſe of the Crown, and conſequently with their own Diſſolution; and the Earl of *Hertford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, having been deputed to bring up the young King from *Hertford*, (or rather *Hatfield*, one of the King's Palaces in *Hertfordſhire*), his Majeſty arriv'd at the *Tower* of *London* on the 31ſt, and the ſame Day was Proclaim'd in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

K. *Henry*'s Death conceal'd three Days.

Edw. VI. proclaim'd

The next Day the Council being aſſembled, the King's Will was open'd, and the ſixteen Regents appointed by it, took upon them the Adminiſtration of the Government. Beſides the Regents already mention'd, ſeveral others were made choice of by the late King to be of the Privy-Council, *viz.* *Henry Fitz-Alan* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Parr* Earl of *Eſſex*, Sir *William Petre* Secretary of State; Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Peckman*, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *John Gage*, and Sir *Anthony Wingfield*.

The Regency.

A Majority of them Friends to the Reformation.

Among the Regents, Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*, *John Dudley* Viſcount *Liſle*, and Sir *William Paget* Secretary of State, ſeem'd moſt enclin'd to the Reformation; in which they

were oppos'd by the Lord *Wriotheſly* Lord Chancellor, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*, and ſeveral other Members of the Regency and Council; but in both there was however a great Majority that favour'd the Reformation. *A.D.* 1547 *A.* 1 *Edw.* 6

It being propos'd to the Regency, that ſome one of them ſhould be aſſign'd to preſide in that Aſſembly, to whom Foreign Miniſters might addreſs themſelves; the Choice fell upon the Earl of *Hertford*, the King's eldeſt Uncle, who was thereupon declar'd Governor of the King's Perſon, and Protector of the Realm. This met with great Oppoſition from the Chancellor *Wriotheſly*, and the Popiſh Party, who ſaid, they look'd upon it as a Deviation from the late King's Will; but in Truth they were apprehenſive, that if the Earl of *Hertford* was once at the Head of the Government, he would make farther Alterations in Religion: As for the Reſtriction that was added, *That he ſhould tranſact nothing of Moment, without the Conſent of the Majority of the Regents*; this it was foreſeen would be but little regarded by the Protector, when he came to be eſtabliſh'd in that Office. Th eEarl of *Hertford* choſenGovernor of the King's Perſon and Protector.

The Protector was no ſooner elected, but the Regents proceeded to confer ſeveral Titles of Honour on certain Perſons of Diſtinction, whom the late King had intimated he would advance in his Life-time; particularly, the Earl of *Hertford*, the King's eldeſt Uncle, was created Duke of *Somerſet*; the Earl of *Eſſex*, Marquis of *Northampton*; *Dudley* Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord Chancellor *Wriotheſly*, Earl of *Southampton*; Sir *Thomas Seymour*, younger Brother to the Creations ofNobility.

A.D. 1547 — *A.* 1 *Edw.* 6

Protector, was created Baron *Sudley*; Sir *Richard Rich*, Baron *Rich*; Sir *Edmund Sheffield*, Baron *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*; and Sir *William Willoughby* was created Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*: And the Protector caus'd himself, some few Days after, to be constituted Lord Treasurer and Earl-Marshal of *England*, which two Posts became Vacant by the Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*; and the Protector's Brother, the Lord *Sudley*, was made Lord High-Admiral of *England*. The Judges and Officers of State also renew'd their Commissions, and the Bishops receiv'd new Commissions from the King, to hold their Bishopricks of him as they had done of his Father, and were empower'd to exercise all parts of the Episcopal Function.

The Protector made Lord Treasurer and Earl-Marshal.

His Brother High-Admiral.

The Bishops take out Commissions to hold their Bishopricks of the King.

And now Preparations being made for the late King's Funeral, his Obsequies were perform'd with great Solemnity; he was interr'd at *Windsor* on the 13th of *February*, as he had appointed by his Will: After which the Regency proceeded to the Coronation of the young King, who, according to antient Custom, rode from the *Tower* through the City, attended by the Nobility and Officers of State, to *Westminster*, and on the Day following, being the 20th of *February*, was Crown'd in the Abby-Church by Dr. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; a general Pardon being proclaim'd at the same time, wherein however, Cardinal *Pole*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward Courtney* eldest Son of the Marquis of *Exeter*, Dr. *Pates*, Mr. *Fortescue*, and Mr. *Throgmorton* were excepted by Name; for tho' the Regents did not think fit to execute so great a Peer as the Duke of *Norfolk* in the beginning of the King's Reign, yet

King *Edward* Crown'd.

A general Pardon.

Duke of *Norfolk* &c. excepted.

yet as they apprehended a conſiderable Oppoſition from him in their intended Deſign of a further Reformation if he was at Liberty, they ſtill detain'd him Priſoner in the Tower: Nor was the Lord Chancellor the Earl of *Southampton*, leſs zealous in his Oppoſition to the Protector, and the Friends of the Reformation, than the Duke of *Norfolk* would have been, which made the Regents determine to diſplace him, as ſoon as they could do it with a good Grace; and he ſoon afforded them a very ſpecious Pretence, by delegating the Maſter of the Rolls, and three other Maſters in *Chancery*, to execute the Office of Lord Chancellor in his ſtead, which the Judges declar'd to be a Forfeiture of his Poſt. The Lord Chancellor being acquainted with this Reſolution by the Protector in Council, he anſwer'd with ſome Emotion, that he held his Place of Chancellor by the late King's Will, which was a better Authority than the Duke of *Somerſet* had for aſſuming the Office of Protector: At which the Council were ſo provok'd, that they order'd the Chancellor to remain a Priſoner in his own Houſe, and took away the Great Seal from him, delivering it to the Lord *St. John*, till another Chancellor ſhould be appointed.

A.D. 1547
A. 1 *Edw.* 6

The Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly* turn'd out.

The Protector afterwards repreſenting to the Regents, that ſome Foreign Miniſters, and particularly the *French* Ambaſſador, had made a Scruple of treating with him, becauſe they did not look upon his Authority to be well eſtabliſh'd; a Patent was order'd to be drawn up in form, for conſtituting him Protector, in which he procur'd ſome Clauſes to be inſerted that very much enlarg'd his Power,

The Protector gets his Commiſſion enlarg'd.

*A.D.*1547 *A.*1 *Edw.*6

Power, and in reality, gave him the Liberty of acting by his sole Authority, without the Consent of the rest of the Regents, whom he consider'd afterwards but as Privy-Councellors, and consulted only with such of them as he apprehended most devoted to him. Whereupon some of our Historians have charg'd the Protector with indirect Practices in the drawing up or obtaining this Patent, suggesting, that it could never be suppos'd the rest of the Regents would voluntarily agree to divest themselves of the Regency, and transfer their whole Authority to one of their own Number.

But by what means soever the Protector obtain'd his Patent, certain it is, the Administration of the Government was from that Moment entirely alter'd, and the Plan the late King had laid down in his Will no longer observ'd, which created the Protector abundance of Enemies, especially among the antient Nobility, who were incens'd to see him thus usurp the Sovereign Power, to the prejudice of the rest of the Regents.

About this time the Alliances between *England* and *France* were renew'd; but *Francis* dying soon after, they were never ratified by him, and his Successor *Henry* II. refus'd to ratify them, being of Opinion he ought never to be at Peace with *England* till he had got Possession of *Bologne*.

The *French* King refuses to ratify the Alliance with *England*.

The *German* Princes were great Sufferers by the Death of the King of *France*, as well as by that of the King of *England*; for *Henry* II. of *France* refus'd to give them any Assistance, and the *English* Ministry were cautious of provoking so great a Prince as the Emperor, during the Reign of a minor King

The *German* Princes in ill Circumstances.

King; however, it was agreed privately to send the *Germans* a Supply of fifty thousand Crowns. A.D. 1547 A. 1 Edw. 6

In the mean time the Protector and Dr. *Cranmer* were determin'd to make further Advances in the Reformation of Religion, in which they were oppos'd by the Princess *Mary*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Bishop *Gardiner*, Bishop *Tonstal*, and the rest of the Popish Party, who insisted, that no Alteration ought to be made in Religion during the King's Minority: However, as the Friends of Popery had very little Share in the Administration, another general Visitation of the Clergy was agreed on, the whole Kingdom being for that Purpose divided into six Circuits, in each of which, two Gentlemen, a Civilian, a Divine and a Register, were deputed Commissioners; and as the inferior Clergy were generally Monks that had been turn'd out of their Houses, and put into Livings by the Court of Augmentations, in order to sink the Pensions that were assign'd them on the Dissolution of Monasteries, and consequently were no great Friends to Reformation, the twelve first Homilies were compil'd, and requir'd to be read by every Minister, instead of their own Sermons and Compositions; Orders were also repeated for keeping a Bible in every Church, (which had not hitherto been duly observ'd) together with a Paraphrase on the New Testament, by *Erasmus*. The Injunctions made by *Cromwell* also for removing Images, and abolishing superstitious Customs, were renew'd, as well as those which requir'd the People to be instructed in the Catechism, and the Clergy to be exemplary in their Lives and Conversations.

Another Visitation of the Clergy.

Orders for removing Images out of Churches, &c.

The

*A.D.*1547
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The *Scots* ſtill refuſing to execute the Treaty of Marriage between King *Edward* and their Queen, the *Engliſh* Miniſtry follow'd the Example of the late King *Henry* VIII. and determin'd to compel them to fulfil that Treaty by Force: Accordingly the Protector in Perſon, accompanied by the Earl of *Warwick* his Lieutenant-General, invaded *Scotland* with three thouſand Horſe and fifteen thouſand Foot: However, being come in Sight of the *Scotiſh* Army, which conſiſted of near double his Number, he thought fit to propoſe to the Earl of *Arran*, the Regent, that the *Scots* ſhould give Security that the young Queen ſhould be bred up in *Scotland*, and not be contracted to a Foreigner, and upon that Condition he would retire into *England* with his Army, and conclude a laſting Peace between the two Nations; but, 'tis ſaid, the *Scots* were induc'd by the *French* Officers in their Army to reject the Offer with Diſdain, it being ſuggeſted, that the Protector would never have condeſcended to make the Propoſal, if his Army had not been in Diſtreſs, and he ſaw himſelf in Danger of having his Retreat cut off by the ſuperior Forces of the *Scots*. The Protector afterwards making a Motion towards the Sea-ſide, they were confirm'd in this Opinion, and concluded he would in the Night time embark his Troops on board the *Engliſh* Fleet which attended him in this Expedition. In this Perſuaſion the *Scots* reſolv'd to attack their Enemies forthwith, and prevent their eſcaping out of their Hands; but as the Protector had not only entrench'd himſelf, but pointed his Batteries ſo as to prevent all Acceſs to his Camp, and the *Engliſh* Fleet at the ſame time

The *Engliſh* invade *Scotland*.

Propoſals made the *Scots*, which they reject.

time was so posted as to Fire upon the Enemies Flanks, the *Scots* were repuls'd, and so disorder'd in their first Attack, that they could never be brought to rally again; whereupon the *English* obtain'd a very easy Victory, fourteen thousand of the *Scots* were slain in the Field of Battel, and fifteen hundred more taken Prisoners, of whom five hundred were Gentlemen and Persons of Distinction; they lost also their whole Train of Artillery, consisting of thirty Pieces of Cannon, and all their Baggage; whereas the *English* did not lose an hundred Men, and according to the *Scotish* Account, not more than two or three hundred. This Battel was fought on the 10th of *September*, in *Pinkney-Field* near *Musselborough*, and is usually call'd the Battel of *Musselborough*.

A.D. 1547

A. 1 *Edw.* 6

The *Scots* defeated at *Musselborough*.

The Protector afterwards march'd to *Edinburgh*, which he plunder'd, with several other Places, and the Fleet that attended him took a great many *Scotish* Ships, and ravag'd the Towns on the Coast. Whereupon the Queen Dowager and the young Queen fled to *Sterling*, whither had the Protector follow'd them, he had probably surpriz'd both, the *Scots* being in the utmost Consternation; but receiving Intelligence at this critical Juncture, that his Brother *Seymour* the Admiral was forming Designs against him, he return'd on a sudden to *England*, leaving the Earl of *Warwick* to command the Army, who soon after retir'd to *Berwick*, without attempting to take the Castle of *Edinburgh*, or to make himself Master of any considerable Fortress in the Kingdom; so that the *English* reap'd no other Fruit from the signal Victory they had obtain'd,

Edinburgh and other Places plunder'd.

The Protector returns on a sudden to *England*.

*A.D.*1547 *A.*1 *Edw.*6

than the alienating the *Scots* ſtill more, and putting them upon the taking a Reſolution of ſending the young Queen to *France*, that ſhe might no more be in danger of falling into the Hands of the *Engliſh*. In this Expedition, it is obſerv'd, the Protector did not ſpend more than ſix and twenty Days, and yet in this ſhort Abſence from Court, his Brother, and the reſt of his Enemies, had very near accompliſh'd his Ruin; but on his returning victorious, he became the Favourite of the Common People; and the Nobility, tho' they envied his Succeſs, carreſs'd him nevertheleſs, and applauded his good Fortune; but as he knew the latter were in their Hearts his Enemies, he treated them with a ſuitable Contempt, and was far from endeavouring to reconcile them to him, as in Prudence and good Policy he ought to have done at ſo favourable a Juncture.

A Conſpiracy againſt him.

Biſhop *Gardiner* and *Bonner* committed to the Tower.

The Commiſſioners being now return'd from their Viſitation, reported, that they met with a univerſal Compliance from the Biſhops and Clergy, only *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, and *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, gave them ſome Diſturbance. Whereupon thoſe two Prelates were committed to the Tower. And on the 4th of *November* the Parliament met, the Lord *Rich* having been conſtituted Lord Chancellor the Day before, that the Peers might not want a Speaker. At the Opening the Parliament, the Protector gave the Nobility great Diſguſt, by placing himſelf at the Right Hand of the Throne, under the Cloth of State, having caus'd another Patent to paſs the Great Seal for that end, and to confer on him all the Honours

Lord *Rich* made Lord Chancellor

The Parliament meets.

The Protector's Ambition.

Honours and Privileges which the Uncle of any preceding King had enjoy'd. *A.D.* 1547

A. 1 *Edw.* 6

There pass'd several Acts this Sessions in favour of the Reform'd; all Statutes were repeal'd which had made any Offence Treason or Felony in the late Reign, that was not so before; particularly, the Act for establishing the six bloody Articles was repeal'd, with the several Acts against the *Lollards*, and the Act that gave the King's Proclamations the Force of Laws; the King's Power of annulling such Laws as should be made in his Minority, also was restrain'd to the time to come, and declar'd not to have a Retrospect to the time such Acts were enacted. The denying the King's Supremacy or maintaining the Pope's, was to be punish'd only with the Loss of Goods for the first Offence, the second Offence was declar'd to be a Præmunire, and the third High-Treason. Another Act pass'd for giving the Communion in both Kinds; and it was Enacted, that the Conge de Elire, and the Election thereupon, should cease, and that for the future the Bishops should be appointed by the King's Letters Patents, and thereupon Consecrated; that they should all hold their Courts in the King's Name, except the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and use the King's Seal, unless in Presentations, Collations, and Letters of Orders, in which they might use their own. All Free-Chapels, Chantries, Colleges and Hospitals, which the late King had not possess'd himself of, were given to the Crown, together with all Legacies given for Lamps in Churches, Obits, *&c.* *Cranmer*, it's said, caus'd a Clause to be inserted in this Act, that the Revenues should be applied for the Maintenance

Acts in favour of the Reformation.

Treason and Felony Six Articles

King's Proclamations.

Denying the Supremacy.

Communion in both Kinds.

Conge de Elire.

Bishops Courts.

Remainder of the Religious Houses given to the King.

*A.D.*1547 *A.*1 *Edw.*6

of Preachers, and of Grammar-Schools; but the Courtiers, it seems, swallow'd the Whole. And at the rising of the Parliament there pass'd an Act of General Pardon, wherein the Duke of *Norfolk*, with some few others, were excepted by Name, and the Crimes of Treason, Murder and Felony were also excepted, as usual. And now another Patent pass'd the Great Seal, which not only confirm'd the Authority the Protector had assum'd, but empower'd him to substitute a Deputy in his Absence.

Pardon.

Protector's Power enlarg'd.

The Protestants in *Germany* were defeated about this time by the Emperor, and the Elector of *Saxony* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, two of their most powerful Chiefs, were made Prisoners; whereby their Affairs became desperate, and some of their Divines were oblig'd to take Refuge in *England*, where the Court at first assign'd them Pensions. *Ochinus* was afterwards made a Canon of *Canterbury*; *Fagius*, *Hebrew* Professor in the University of *Cambridge*; *Peter Martyr* had the Divinity Chair at *Oxford*, and *Bucer* that of *Cambridge*.

Protestants in *Germany* subdu'd by the Emperor.

Some of them Refugees in *England*. Are preferr'd in the Universities.

Before I proceed further, it may be proper to give some Account of the rise of that Misunderstanding which happen'd between the Protector and his Brother the Admiral, which at length prov'd so fatal to both. The Admiral is generally represented by our Historians, as a fine Gentleman, remarkable for the Beauty of his Person and his excellent Parts, but withal extremely proud and ambitious: He discover'd his Discontent first on the Opening of the King's Will, where he found his Brother and many more, whom he look'd upon not so well entitled to the Ho-

Grounds of the Quarrel between the Protector and his Brother the Admiral.

nou

nour as himſelf, left Regents of the King-dom, while he, who was alſo Uncle to the minor King, had only a Place aſſign'd him in the Privy-Council. *A.D.1547* *A.1 Edw.6*

Soon after the Death of *Henry* VIII. it appears he had ſo good an Opinion of his own Merit, that he made his Addreſſes to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*; but not ſucceeding here, he made Court to the Queen Dowager, who yielded to his Importunity very ſuddenly, and they were privately married, tho' it was yet uncertain whether ſhe was not with Child by the late King. The Admiral marries the Queen Dowager.

This Marriage having been conceal'd ſome time, the Admiral had the Addreſs to procure the young King's Conſent to it, in a Letter under his Hand; whereupon he made no Scruple to declare his Marriage every where; and as the Duke his Brother appear'd extremely diſſatified with him on this Account, the Admiral exclaim'd no leſs at the Ambition of the Protector, in taking upon him the ſole Adminiſtration of the Government, and excluding the reſt of the Regents: He even enter'd into a Conſpiracy to deprive the Protector of the Authority he had uſurp'd, in which he was very much encourag'd by many of the Nobility; but what gave the Admiral the greateſt Hopes of ſucceeding, was the Aſcendant he had gain'd over the young King, who ſeem'd to be intirely in his Intereſt. While the Protector was in *Scotland*, the Admiral had by his Bounty gain'd ſeveral of the King's Servants, and procur'd another Patent to enlarge his Authority as Lord High-Admiral, with an Addition of ſome hundred Marks *per Ann.* to his Pay. Nor could the Protector at his return, prevail Gains over the King and the Nobility to his Party.

*A.D.*1547 vail on him to desist from these Practices; he insinuated to the young King, that the two Offices of Protector of the Kingdom, and Governor of his Person, were never till now entrusted in the same Hand; and procur'd a Message in Writing, from the King to the House of Commons, intimating his Pleasure, that he (the Admiral) might be made Governor of his Person. The Council being inform'd of it, sent to the Admiral to persuade him not to deliver the Message; but instead of complying with them, he threaten'd the Members of the Council, who thereupon caus'd him to be apprehended, and let him know, that unless he submitted he would be prosecuted for High-Treason, as a Disturber of the Government. This alarming him a little, he pretended he desir'd to be reconcil'd to his Brother the Protector, and promis'd all Submission for the future: Whereupon he was dismiss'd; but continu'd however, privately, to do the Protector all manner of ill Offices with the King and the Nobility.

*A.*1 *Edw.*6

He aspires to be made Governor of the King's Person.

He is apprehended, and submits himself.

But continues his Practices.

*A.D.*1548 The Year 1548 began with several Alterations in Religion; the carrying Candles on *Candlemas-Day*, Ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, and Palms on *Palm-Sunday*, the creeping to the Cross on *Good-Friday*, and taking Holy Bread and Water, were order'd to be disus'd: And soon after another Order was issu'd, for removing all manner of Images out of Churches, when the Shrines and Plate belonging to them were seiz'd to the King's Use; eighteen Bishops and some other Divines, were also appointed to examine the Offices and Ceremonies of the Church, and consider what ought to be retain'd, and what omitted;

*A.*2 *Edw.*6

Several Alterations in Religion.

Images remov'd.

omitted; who order'd a new Office for the Communion, and that Auricular Confeſſion ſhould be diſus'd; and they proceeded afterwards to compoſe a Liturgy and Form of Prayers for Morning and Evening, in the vulgar Tongue, very little different from that us'd at preſent. *A.D.*1548 *A.*2*Edw.*6 A new Liturgy compos'd.

During theſe Alterations at Home, the Protector endeavour'd as much as poſſible to avoid being engag'd in a War with *Scotland*, and therefore offer'd that People a ten Years Truce, but they would not accept it; whereupon having procur'd another Patent, which impower'd him by his own Authority to appoint ſuch Generals and Officers as he ſaw fit, he appointed *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewſbury* his Lieutenant-General, who took the important Town of *Haddington*, not far from *Edinburgh*, which gave him an Opportunity of plundering the Country, and raiſing Contributions in the moſt fruitful part of the Kingdom. The *Scots* having receiv'd a Reinforcement of ſix thouſand Men from *France*, endeavour'd to retake *Haddington* again; but the Earl of *Shrewſbury* advancing towards them, they thought fit to abandon the Siege. And now the Succeſs of the War being doubtful, the *Scots* thought fit to comply with the *French* King, (who had purchas'd the Regent and moſt of the great Men amongſt them) and ſent over their young Queen to *France*. A War with *Scotland*. *Haddington* taken. The *Scots* ſend their Queen to *France*.

The Earl of *Shrewſbury* in the mean time, having ſupplied *Haddington* with Proviſions and all Neceſſaries for a Siege, diſpers'd his Troops and return'd to Court; which the *French* General *Deſſy* being acquainted with, enter'd the *Engliſh* Borders, and marching with the utmoſt Expedition as far as *Newcaſtle*,

*A.D.*1548 *caſtle*, obtain'd abundance of rich Plunder, with which he retir'd to *Edinburgh* before the *Engliſh* Generals could draw their Forces together; but *Deſſy* behav'd himſelf with that Inſolence, that the *Scots* begun to repent of their introducing the *French*, and ſending their Queen to *France*. The Citizens of *Edinburgh* refuſing to Quarter the *French* Troops, *Deſſy* order'd his Men to break into their Houſes, murder'd their Provoſt or Chief Magiſtrate and his Son, and kill'd all the Men, Women and Children he found in the Streets, and treated the *Scots* in all reſpects like a conquer'd People; and yet it was with Difficulty the *Scots* procur'd this General to be recall'd by the *French* King; ſo very dangerous is it to introduce the Forces of a potent Foreign Ally. Nor were the *Engliſh* in a much better Situation at this time; for the Protector, conſcious he was not belov'd by the Nobility or Clergy, had introduc'd a Body of *Germans*, under Pretence of the *Scotiſh* War, tho' in reality, to maintain his own Authority by Force; and his recalling them from *Scotland*, in order to quarter them near the Court, was probably the Reaſon the Northern Counties were abandon'd to the Plunder of the *French*, in the manner already related.

A. 2 *Edw* 6

The *French* and *Scots* plunder the Northern Counties.

The *French* treat the *Scots* like a conquer'd People.

The Protector maintains Foreign Troops.

The Act of Uniformity.

The Parliament meeting on the 4th of *November*, an Act paſs'd for Uniformity of Divine Service, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, *&c.* this Act recites, that whereas heretofore divers Forms of Common-Prayer had been us'd in this Realm, *viz.* one Form at *Sarum*, another at *York*, and a third at *Bangor*, *&c.* with different Rites and Ceremonies, the King, by the Advice of his Uncle

Uncle the Protector, and the rest of his Council, to the intent that a Uniform and Godly Order might be observ'd in Divine Service all over the Realm for the future, had appointed the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with other Bishops and Learned Men, to draw up a Form of Common-Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments; and that by the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, the said Archbishop and Bishops had unanimously agreed upon, and deliver'd to his Highness, a Book entitled, *The Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of* England. And it was Enacted, that all Ministers in their respective Churches, should use the Morning and Evening Prayer, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and Administration of each of the Sacraments, in such Order and Form as was mention'd in the said Book, and none other or otherwise, under the Pains contain'd in the said Act. For a particular Account whereof, I refer the Reader to the Statute at large, *viz.* 2 and 3 *Ed.* 6. *Cap.* 1. A.D. 1548 / A. 2 Edw. 6

Another Act pass'd for the setting forth and due Payment of Tyths. Tyths.

And a third prohibiting the eating of Flesh on *Fridays* and *Saturdays* in *Lent*, *Ember-Weeks*, and Eves of certain Holidays. Fish Days.

By *Cap.* 21. All Laws prohibiting the Clergy to marry are repeal'd. Married Clergy.

Cap. 23. Requires Parties that have enter'd into Marriage Contracts to solemnize the same, and return to their first Spouse, notwithstanding any Marriage had and consummated with another after the first Contract; Marriage Contracts to be fulfill'd.

*A.D.*1548 according to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Realm.

A.2Edw.6 By *Cap.* 35. A Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the Pound, granted by the Clergy to the King, to be levied within three Years, is confirm'd; and the Laity granted three Shillings in the Pound, to be levied in three Years.

Subſidy of the Clergy confirm'd by Parliament.

*A.D.*1549 In the ſame Parliament alſo paſs'd an Act of Attainder againſt the Admiral the Protector's Brother; for notwithſtanding he had made a formal Submiſſion, and promis'd to deſiſt from his ambitious Projects, having buried his Wife, the Queen Dowager, in *September* the preceding Year, he again made Court to the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and meeting with a ſecond Repulſe there, he laid a Plot, 'tis ſaid, to force his Brother the Protector to reſign his Adminiſtration, and to ſeize the Perſon of the King, and to effect theſe Deſigns, had actually liſted two, and according to ſome, ten thouſand Men in his Service, declaring every where, that his Brother was a Uſurper, and had brought in Foreign Troops to enſlave the Nation; of which the Protector receiving Intelligence, caus'd the Admiral to be apprehended and committed to the Tower. Three and thirty Articles were ſoon after preferr'd againſt him in Council, charging him with conſpiring againſt the State, and having committed ſeveral Offences in his Office of High-Admiral, as protecting Pirates; refuſing to do Juſtice to private People, or make Satisfaction to Foreign Powers for Inſults committed on their Subjects at Sea. The Privy-Council went in a Body to the Tower, to examine the Admiral on theſe Articles; but he refus'd to anſwer, and demanded a legal Trial, and that

A.3Edw.6 A Bill of Attainder againſt the Admiral.

The Charge againſt him.

that the Witneſſes againſt him might be produc'd Face to Face, or at leaſt that the Articles might be left with him to conſider of, before he put in his Anſwer. But the Council refus'd to comply with him in any of theſe Demands; and it was at length reſolv'd to bring in a Bill of Attainder againſt him in the Houſe of Peers, as has been already intimated. The Lords alſo deputed a Committee to examine the Admiral in the *Tower* upon the ſaid Articles, and he made ſome Anſwer to the three firſt, but refus'd to anſwer to the reſt, which being reported to the Houſe, they immediately paſs'd the Bill, and ſent it down to the Commons, where it met with ſome Oppoſition, it being thought exceeding ſtrange to condemn the King's Uncle unheard, and without having the Witneſſes examin'd in open Court. Whereupon the young King was prevail'd on to ſend a Meſſage to the Commons, that they ſhould not inſiſt on the Admiral's being heard in his Defence, but paſs the Bill on the Evidence that was given before the Lords, with which the Commons complied, and having read it a third time, it receiv'd the Royal Aſſent, and the Admiral was beheaded on the 20th of *March*, having proteſted at the Place of Execution, that he had neither committed or intended any Treaſon againſt the King or Nation. And indeed, ſays Monſieur *Rapin*, it was never clearly prov'd that he had form'd any ill Deſign againſt the King or State, and obſerves, *That this is not the only time that a Plot againſt the Miniſters has been conſtru'd High-Treaſon.* However, it were to be wiſh'd Mr. *Rapin* had told us what the Evidence againſt the Admiral was, (if he ever had a

A.D. 1549
A. 3 *Edw.* 6

The Bill is paſs'd.

The Admiral is executed.

Rapin's Inconſiſtencies.

*A.D.*1549 *A.*3 *Edw.*6

Sight of it) before he had asserted, *It was never clearly prov'd that the Admiral had a Design against the King or State*; especially when he himself relates but a Page or two before, *That the Admiral had form'd a Design to seize the King's Person, and actually listed two thousand Men to effect it.* For this certainly was a Design against the King and State, and High-Treason, if any thing in our Law is. He affirms in another Place, that it is very probable the Commons were *convinc'd* of the Truth of the Depositions against the Admiral, which induc'd them to pass the Bill; but if they were *convinc'd* of his having committed Treason, as this accurate Writer relates, one would be tempted to think it was *clearly prov'd*, for what else should convince them of it; so very consistent is this celebrated Historian with himself.

The Protector censur'd for the Death of his Brother, demolishing Churches, and seizing Bishops Lands.

Various Censures were pass'd on the Protector for cutting off his Brother in this manner; they did not only charge him with Cruelty, but observ'd, that he himself had given rise to the Conspiracy form'd against him, by usurping an Authority he had no Pretence to. His Friends, on the other hand, excus'd him, by saying, his Brother was so ambitious and irreclaimable, that he had no way to preserve himself but by his Destruction. The Protector also was censur'd for demolishing three or four Churches, to build that Palace, which from it's Founder obtain'd the Name of *Somerset-House*, as well as for his seizing the Lands belonging to several Bishops Sees, and adding them to his own Estate; but as an Attonement for these things, 'tis observ'd, he was very zealous in the promoting the Reformation; that in pursuance of

of the Act of Uniformity pass'd the last Session, he caus'd the New Liturgy to be introduc'd into all the Churches and Chapels in the Kingdom, except in that of the Princess *Mary*'s, who absolutely refus'd to receive it in her Chapel; and when the Council insisted on her complying with it, the Emperor interpos'd, and prevail'd on the Ministry not to disturb her on that Account. *A.D.* 1549 *A.* 3 *Edw.* 6

The Princess *Mary* refuses to conform.

About the same time one *Joan Bocher* an Anabaptist, was burnt for denying the Divinity of our Saviour, as was *George Van Pare* a *Dutchman*, not long after for the like Offence; and when the young King, who abhorr'd any thing that had an Appearance of Cruelty, refus'd to sign the Warrant for the Execution of the former, 'tis said, Archbishop *Cranmer* persuaded him to it, representing that Blasphemers were ston'd to Death by the Law of *Moses*. However, this gave the Papists Occasion to observe, that the Protestants only condemn'd Burning when the Laws were against them; and indeed it were to be wish'd, that the Bishops had left the Anabaptists to the Civil Powers, who might have punish'd them on other Accounts, if it be true, that they refus'd to submit to their Governors, and rais'd Insurrections in several Countries, particularly in *Germany*, where they seiz'd on the City of *Munster*, and set up *John* of *Leydon*, one of their Preachers, for their King, stiling him *King of the New Jerusalem*, tho' they denied almost all the Principles of the *Christian* Religion.

Anabaptists burnt.

For which the Reformers are censur'd.

The common People were generally disaffected to the Government at this time all over *England*, for which several Reasons are assign'd; but the Alteration of Religion, and the

The People disaffected.

A.D. 1549 — *A.* 3 *Edw.* 6

the transferring the Abby-Lands to the Nobility and Gentry, are held to have been the Principal. When Men are prejudic'd in Favour of a Religion, true or falſe, it is no eaſy matter to bring them to eſpouſe another, tho' they ſuffer no temporal Inconveniency by the Change; and perhaps the attempting Alterations in Religion has been the Source of more Tumults and Inſurrections in the World than any other Cauſe whatever. But here the Alteration of Religion was in reality the Ruin of the Monks, and of the lower Claſs of Men, it could not be expected therefore, that either of them ſhould long remain quiet; they obſerv'd, no doubt, with a ſenſible Regret, that thoſe Eſtates which were formerly applied to pious and charitable Uſes, which the Farmers had held upon eaſy Rents, and from whence the Poor had been always hoſpitably reliev'd, were now ſeiz'd by rapacious Courtiers, let out at rack Rents, and the uſual Hoſpitality diſcontinu'd. The Protector ſaw the Abuſe, and would have compell'd the Gentry to have kept up the ſame Hoſpitality the Monks formerly did, and upon which Condition indeed theſe Eſtates were granted to them; but he only rais'd himſelf abundance of Enemies by attempting it: While the People, half ſtarv'd and impoveriſh'd, finding their Grievances never like to be redreſs'd any other way, had recourſe to Arms, and ſent up a Roll of their Complaints to Court, among which that of the Alteration of Religion appear'd to be the Chief, as it was look'd upon to be the Spring of all the reſt.

Occaſion'd by the Rapine of the Nobility and Gentry. The Protector endeavours to remedy it in vain.

Inſurrections in ſeveral Places.

In *Devonſhire*.

In *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* the Malecontents being ten thouſand ſtrong, and led by one

one *Arundel* a *Corniſh* Gentleman, laid Siege to *Exeter*, ſet Fire to one of the Gates, and ſtorm'd the Place with great Fury; but were however repuls'd by the Inhabitants. Whereupon the Siege was turn'd into a Blockade, the Malecontents imagining, that if they intercepted all Proviſion coming to the Town, the Citizens muſt ſurrender of Courſe. But they held out beyond Expectation, feeding upon dead Horſes and other coarſe Food, till the Malecontents were defeated by the Lords *Ruſſel* and *Grey*, who came to their Relief with an Army compos'd of *Germans* as well as native *Engliſh*. For the People were ſo generally diſaffected to the Government at this time, that a Body of foreign Troops were apprehended neceſſary for the Preſervation of the State. *A.D* 1549 *A.* 3 *Edw.* 6

In *Norfolk* the Malecontents were very formidable alſo, amounting to twenty thouſand Men, who were led by one *Ket* a Tanner, who took upon him the Authority of a Sovereign Prince, and erected a mock Court of Juſtice on *Monſheld-Hill*, which overlooks the City of *Norwich*. Here he ſat under an Oak, attended by Perſons of Diſtinction, whom he had forc'd to join him, and pretended to reform what was amiſs in Religion or the State, from whence the Tree obtain'd the Name of *The Oak of Reformation*. *Ket* had the good Fortune to defeat the Marquis of *Northampton*, who was ſent down with about a thouſand Men to obſerve his Motions, and to drive him out of *Norwich*; which rais'd the Reputation of the Rebels to ſuch a Pitch, that the Earl of *Warwick* was order'd to march againſt them with the Army that was deſign'd for *Scotland*; with which, however, In *Norfolk*.

*A.D.*1549 — *A.*3 *Edw* 6

ever, he did not think fit to engage them in the open Field, till they were oblig'd to divide themselves into several Bodies for want of Provisions, and then he fell upon them separately, and defeated them with a very great Slaughter, taking *Ket* their General, with abundance of other Prisoners. *Ket* and his Brother were soon after hang'd at *Norwich*, and nine more of the principal Rebels on the *Oak of Reformation*, but the rest were pardon'd, as well as another Body of them in *Yorkshire*, who offer'd to lay down their Arms on the News of *Ket*'s Defeat. The Nobility and Council were for making more Examples of Justice, believing thereby they should deter the common People from disturbing them in the Possession of the Abby-Lands for the future; but the Protector conscious that the People had but too much Reason to complain of their Injustice and Oppression, granted, by his sole Authority, a general Pardon for what was pass'd, excepting but very few of the Prisoners out of it.

The Rebels defeated.

In the mean time the *French* King finding the *English* distracted by Factions, and engag'd in a kind of Civil War, laid hold of the Opportunity, and took several Forts and Places in the *Bolonois*, without ever declaring War, or giving any manner of Reason for these Hostilities. Practices the *French* have ever been famous, or rather infamous for, but never more than in the late Reign of *Lewis* XIV.

The *French* take several Forts in the *Bolonois*.

The *French* King in Person also laid Siege to *Bologne* in *September*, but his Army being infected with the Plague, he thought fit to return to *Paris*, and leave the Admiral *Coligny* to carry on the Siege; and the Admiral despairing

Bologne besieg'd in vain.

despairing of taking the Town, turn'd the Siege into a Blockade the following Winter. *A.D.*1549 *A.*3 *Edw.*6

The *Scots*, the inseparable Allies of *France*, at the same time took Advantage of the Troubles in *England*, and with the Assistance of a Body of *French* Troops, made themselves Masters of *Broughty-Castle*, while the *English* Army was employ'd in suppressing the Malecontents. The Protector also thought fit to give Orders for the demolishing *Haddington* and abandoning it, that the *Scots* might have no Pretence to be at Variance with him.

The *Scots* take *Broughty-Castle*.

Haddington demolish'd.

It was not the Protector's Interest to engage in foreign Wars while the Nation was in such a Ferment, and there was a Party form'd against him among the Nobility and Gentry, who still hated him, for assuming the Administration of the Government, and depriving the rest of the Regents of their Share in it; his taking part with the common People against them in the late Insurrections, disgusted them no less; and all the Popish Lords and Clergy to a Man were his Enemies: He did whatever lay in his Power therefore, to give both the *Scots* and *French* Satisfaction, to avoid a War; he even propos'd in Council the delivering up of *Bologne*, without which he knew the *French* King would not hear of Peace, for a Sum of Money; but the Council were unanimous against it. His Enemies saw his Drift, and were resolv'd to continue the *French* and *Scotish* War for the very Reason he would avoid it, namely, to distress him, and procure a Change in the Administration; for had the Nation been in Peace, the Troops which

The Protector endeavours to avoid a War.

Proposes the delivering up *Bologne*.

*A.D.*1549 *A.*3 *Edw.*6

were employ'd againſt *France* and *Scotland*, would probably have been made Uſe of to maintain the Protector in the Adminiſtration; his Enemies in Council therefore laying hold of this favourable Opportunity, when he had but few Troops at hand, aſſembled at *Ely-Houſe* on the 6th of *October*, and having charg'd the Protector with Male Adminiſtration, and being the Author of all the ill Succeſs the Nation had met with, they determin'd to take upon them the Government of the State. The chief of this Junto were, the Lord *St. John*, Preſident of the Council; the Earls of *Southampton*, *Warwick*, and *Arundel*; Sir *Edward North*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Edward Wotton*, and Dr. *Wotton:* Theſe ſent to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council, and to the Governor of the *Tower*, to attend them, and requir'd that they ſhould no longer acknowledge the Duke of *Somerſet* for Protector; and the Citizens being, probably, already prepar'd, were with very little Difficulty perſuaded to approve their Meaſures, as well as the Lieutenant of the *Tower*; which the Protector hearing of, remov'd with the young King from *Hampton-Court*, where he then reſided, to *Windſor*, as a Place of greater Security, and having arm'd his Friends and Servants, ſeem'd reſolv'd to ſtand upon his Defence; he ſent Secretary *Petre* alſo to the Lords at *Ely-Houſe*, to demand the Reaſon of their Meeting; but they detain'd the Secretary with them by Force, and the next Day were join'd by ſeven more of the Council, *(viz.)* the Lord Chancellor *Rich*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Shrewſbury*, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *John Gaye*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*,

A Conſpiracy in the Council againſt him.

They are join'd by the City of *London* and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

The Protector arms his Friends, and carries the King to *Windſor*.

Sadler, and the Lord Chief Juſtice *Montague*, after which it was agreed by the whole Aſſembly to ſend a Letter to the King, repreſenting the Danger his Majeſty and the Kingdom were in from an armed Force the Protector kept about him, and his governing in an arbitrary manner without the Concurrence of the Regency or Council. *A.D.* 1549 *A.* 3 *Edw.* 6

The Duke finding the Conſpirators ſo ſtrong, deſpair'd of maintaining himſelf any longer in the Station of Protector, and offered to refer the Matters he was charg'd with to two of the Council at *Ely-Houſe*, and to two others that remain'd with him at *Windſor*; whereupon five more of the Council obſerving he look'd upon himſelf as a ruin'd Man, deſerted him alſo, and went over to thoſe at *London*: Whereupon it was agreed to ſend a Deputation to the King, with a Declaration, ſhewing that they had been appointed joint Executors of the late King's Will with the Duke and Regents of the Kingdom; that they had indeed choſen the Duke Protector, but it was on Condition he ſhou'd tranſact nothing without their Advice, whereas he had uſurp'd the ſole Government of the State, and thereby render'd himſelf unworthy of continuing the Office of Protector any longer; they deſir'd therefore that his Highneſs wou'd permit them to reſume the Authority committed to them by the late King, and that the Duke might diſmiſs the Forces he had aſſembled under pretence of ſecuring the King's Perſon. The Protector ſubmits. The Council deſire he wou'd diſmiſs his Forces.

This the Archbiſhop and *Paget*, the only Members of the Council, (the one weakly and the other treacherouſly, 'tis ſaid) advis'd him to comply with, and he was perſuaded by Which he complies with.

*A.D.*1549 *A.*3 *Edw.*6

them to dismiss his Friends that were assembled for his Defence; which the Lords at *London* no sooner understood, but they sent to *Windsor* and arrested several of the Protector's Adherents, and particularly Mr. Secretary *Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *John Thynne*, *Edward Wolfe* and *William Cecil*; and the 12th of *October* they attended the King in a body, who assur'd them he did not take any thing amiss they had done.

The Council attend the King, who approves their Conduct.

Two Days after the Duke of *Somerset* himself was brought before the Council, when 28 or 29 Articles were exhibited against him; the principal whereof were, that he had not observ'd the Condition on which he was made Protector; that he had treated with Ambassadors, and dispos'd of Governments and Bishopricks without consulting the rest of the Regents; that he had embas'd the Coin, encourag'd the late Insurrections, lost the Forts about *Bologn* by neglecting to furnish them with Men and Provisions; that he had said, *The Lords at* London *intend to kill me, but if I die, the King shall die*; that he had endeavour'd to give the King an ill Opinion of the Council, and caus'd them to be proclaim'd Traitors; and that he had manifested his ill Designs against the King and Government, by carrying him with an arm'd Force to *Windsor*; and upon this Charge the Duke was committed to the Tower, without being suffer'd to answer it: after which six Lords were appointed to be the King's Governors, two of them to attend him by turns, but the Administration of Affairs was lodg'd chiefly in the hands of —— *Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, the most active of the Conspirators, and who was suppos'd to have laid the Design of destroying the Protector.

The Protector charged with several Crimes, and sent to the Tower.

Earl of *Warwick* assumes the Government.

As

As *Warwick* was known by all the World to be no Bigot to any Religion, the Papists, when they saw their great Enemy the Duke of *Somerset* in the Tower, conceiv'd great Hopes of a turn in their Favour; *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, who were then in the Tower, wrote to the Earl of *Warwick*, 'tis said, to congratulate him upon his having deliver'd the Nation from the *Tyrant*, as they call'd the Protector. But *Warwick* designing to make his Court to the young King, who appear'd exceeding zealous for the Reformation, the Papists were disappointed, and *Bonner* was not only continu'd a Prisoner in the Tower, but depriv'd of his Bishoprick. The Earl of *Southampton* also, who had appear'd one of the most forward in ruining the Protector, and expected to have been restor'd to his Office of Lord Chancellor at least, was miserably disappointed, being no less slighted and discourag'd under this Administration than the last, on account of his Adherence to the Popish Party; whereupon he retir'd discontented from Court, and died in a few Months of Grief, as some relate; others insinuate, that like *Achitophel*, seeing his Advice neglected, he chose to be the Author of his own Death, differing only in the manner of destroying himself, for *Southampton* made use of Poison, and that celebrated Politician of old put an end to his hated Life by a Halter.

A.D. 1549 — *A.* 3 *Edw.* 6

He continues to promote the Reformation.

Pope *Paul* III. dying on the 10th of *November*, the Cardinals were almost unanimous for advancing Cardinal *Pole* to the Papal Chair, on account of the Opposition he had given to the Reformation in *England*, and the Sufferings of his Family in that Cause, and came in the Night-time to his Cell in the Conclave

Cardinal *Pole* near being advanc'd to the Papacy

*A.D.*1549 Conclave to adore him according to Cuſtom, but he told them that *God loved Light*, and advis'd them to defer the matter till Morning; but the *Italian* Cardinals, ſays a certain Writer, among whom Ambition paſſes for Greatneſs of Mind, looking upon this Conduct as an Argument of his Stupidity, retir'd on a ſudden, and before Day, choſe *De Monte* Pope, who took upon him the Name of *Julius* III.

A. 3 *Edw.* 6

Parl. meets

Treaſon for 12 Perſons to aſſemble to kill or impriſon a Privy Counſellor.

The Parliament meeting on the 4th of *November*, an Act was made, declaring it to be *High Treaſon* for twelve Perſons or more, to aſſemble with an Intent *to kill or impriſon any of the King's Council*, or to alter any Laws, provided they continu'd together an Hour after Proclamation made by the Sheriff, a Juſtice of Peace, or head Officer of a Town Corporate, for them to diſperſe; and it was declar'd Felony without Benefit of Clergy, for twelve Perſons or more, to aſſemble to throw down the Fences of any Park or other inclos'd Ground, or to deſtroy any Pond, Conduit or Dove-houſe, or on pretence of having Common in any Ground, or a way thro' the ſame, or to pull down Houſes, Barns or Mills, or burn any Stack of Corn, or to abate the Rents of Lands, or the Prices of Victuals, if they continu'd together one Hour after Proclamation made as aforeſaid.

Felony to throw down Fences.

Felony to incite others to commit any of the aforeſaid Offences.

And it was further enacted, that if any Perſon ſhou'd by Deed or Word, *procure or incite others* to make any traiterous or Rebellious Aſſembly, to the Intent to do, execute or put in ure, any of the things above-mention'd, ſuch Perſon ſhou'd be adjudg'd a *Felon* without Benefit of Clergy.

By

A.D. 1549

A. 3 Edw. 6

By 3 and 4 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 10. it was Enacted, that all Popiſh Books and Images ſhould be burnt, or otherwiſe deſtroy'd; the Images or Monuments on Tombs only excepted.

Papiſh Books and Images deſtroy'd.

By 3 and 4 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 11. the King was empower'd to nominate ſixteen of the Clergy, whereof four were to be Biſhops; and ſixteen of the Laity, of whom four were to be common Lawyers, to compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, within the Space of three Years, which were to have the Force of Laws in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

32 Perſons appointed to compile a Body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

By 3 and 4 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 12. it was Enacted, that ſuch Form and Manner of Making and Conſecrating Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and other Miniſters of the Church, ſhould be obſerv'd, as ſix Prelates, and ſix other Men learn'd in God's Law, and appointed by the King under the Great Seal (or a Majority of them) ſhould deviſe and draw up for that Purpoſe, before the 1ſt of *April* then next coming, and no other.

The Form of Conſecrationsappointed to be ſettled.

By 3 and 4 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 14. *Mary Seymour*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Lord *Seymour* of *Sudlie*, late Admiral of *England*, was reſtor'd to Blood.

Lady *Seymour*, the Admiral's Daughter, reſtor'd.

By 3 and 4 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 15. it was Enacted, that if any Perſon by Writing, Printing, Speaking, Singing, or otherwiſe, ſhould declare any fantaſtical or falſe Propheſy, to the intent to ſtir up any Rebellion, Inſurrection, Diſſention, Loſs of Life, or other Diſturbance, he ſhould for the firſt Offence forfeit ten Pounds, and ſuffer a Year's Impriſonment; and for the ſecond, ſhould forfeit

Falſe Propheſies puniſh'd.

*A.D.*1550 forfeit all his Goods, and ſuffer Impriſonent during Life.

*A.*4 *Edw.*6

A Bill of Pains and Penalties to be inflict.d on the Protector.

On the 2d of *January* a Bill was brought into the Houſe of Peers, for inflicting Pains and Penalties on the late Protector, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and with it a Confeſſion of the Articles above-mention'd, ſign'd with his own Hand. But it being objected, that this Confeſſion might have been extorted from him, a Committee of four Biſhops, and four Temporal Lords, were deputed to examine whether the Duke had ſign'd that Confeſſion voluntarily. On his being attended by the Committee, the Duke anſwer'd, that he thank'd the Houſe of Peers for their kind Meſſage, but he had freely ſign'd his Confeſſion before the King and Council on the 13th of *December*, proteſting however, that his Offences had flow'd from Raſhneſs and Indiſcretion rather than Malice, and that he had no treaſonable Deſign, either againſt the King or his Realms. Whereupon the Parliament paſs'd an Act whereby he was depriv'd of all his Places, his Goods and Chattels confiſcated, and his Lands, to the Value of two thouſand Pounds *per Ann.* forfeited to the Crown; but upon his writing a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Council, he was releas'd from his Confinement in the *Tower* on the 6th of *February*, giving ten thouſand Pounds Security for his good Behaviour, on Condition, however, that he ſhould reſide either in the King's Palace at *Richmond* or his own at *Sion*, and not come to Council unleſs he was call'd. On the 16th of *February* he receiv'd a Pardon, and was in *April* following call'd to the Council-Board. But to return to the Parliament.

Depriv'd of his Places, his Goods and 2000 *l per Ann.* taken from him.

The

The King having obtain'd a Subſidy, there paſs'd an Act of general Pardon, and on the 1ſt of *February* the Parliament was prorogu'd. *A.D.*1550 *A.*4*Edw.*6

In this Parliament Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, Peers eldeſt Sons were firſt admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, for Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, being by his Brother's Death become Heir apparent to the Lord *Ruſſel*, during this Seſſion, it was on a Debate reſolv'd, that he ſhould remain a Member of that Houſe notwithſtanding. Peers eldeſt Sons firſt admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons.

Soon after the riſing of the Parliament, a Treaty was ſet on Foot between the Courts of *France* and *England*, concerning the Reſtitution of *Bologne*; for tho' the Earl of *Warwick* had oppos'd it during the Protector's Adminiſtration, yet he found ſo great a part of the Nation diſcontented, on Account of the Changes that had been made in Religion, that it was by no means adviſable to enter into a War with *France* and *Scotland* at this time, as he muſt have done if he had not complied with the *French* King in this Article. The Plenipotentiaries of both Crowns therefore being met between *Calais* and *Ardres*, a Treaty was concluded on the 24th of *March*, whereby it was agreed, that *Bologne* ſhould be reſtor'd to *France*, with the ſame Quantity of Ammunition and Ordnance as were in it when it was taken; but that in Conſideration of the Charges the late King had been at in taking and fortifying the Place, the King of *France* ſhould pay to the King of *England* four hundred thouſand Crowns, (of the Value of ſix Shillings and eight Pence each). That the *Engliſh* ſhould reſign all the Forts they held in *Scotland*, and not make War upon A Treaty between *England* and *France*. *Bologne* reſtor'd. In conſideration of 400000 Crowns.

A.D.1550 on that Kingdom, without freſh Provocation; provided that the King of *England*'s Pretenſions and Demands on *France* or *Scotland* ſhould not be prejudic'd by this Treaty, but remain in the ſame State they were before. From whence it appears, that the Yearly Tribute paid by the late Kings of *France* to the Crown of *England*, was not relinquiſh'd; and indeed moſt part of the Sum ſaid to be given for the Fortifications of *Bologne*, was in reality part of the Arrears of that Tribute. When this Treaty came to be ratified by the Regency in *England*, it is obſerv'd, that the Earl of *Warwick* pretended Sickneſs, that he might avoid Signing it, becauſe he could not do it with a good Grace, after he had exclaim'd ſo much againſt the ſurrendering of the Place during another's Adminiſtration. However, the People began to open their Mouths, and make Reflections on this Occaſion not much to his Honour. In order therefore to divert their Eyes from this ungrateful Scene, he ſet up a kind of Inquiſition, in order to examine and puniſh all thoſe who had any ways oppreſs'd the People by their Extortions, or defrauded the King in his Revenues; perhaps he took the Hint from the late King, who had hang'd up his Father, the infamous *Dudley*, the great Inſtrument made uſe of by *Henry* VII. to oppreſs and fleece the People, and by that means, he muſt have obſerv'd, render'd himſelf very dear to his Subjects; he propos'd poſſibly, to reconcile the People to his Adminiſtration by the ſame Conduct. It appears that the Earl of *Arundel* was fin'd twelve thouſand Pounds at this time, notwithſtanding he had been one of the principal Inſtruments

A.4 Edw.6

The great Officers and Receivers of the Taxes call'd to Account.

Inſtruments in advancing the Earl of *Warwick* to the Poſt he now held in the Government. Several others alſo were deeply fin'd, whereby *Warwick* render'd himſelf very terrible to the Great Men, and became in a manner abſolute at Court. About the ſame time he ſet at Liberty Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and ſome other Friends of the late Protector, on their paying conſiderable Fines. He afterwards proceeded to diſband the Army, when he found the Nation at Peace with all its Neighbours, he did not ſo much as ſuggeſt there was any Danger of leaving the Nation without Troops, tho' the Imperialiſts were then Maſters of *Flanders*, and were much more formidable than at preſent, and *Scotland*, from whence the Kingdom was moſt liable to be annoy'd, was then ſtrictly united to *France*. A Conduct wherein it were to be wiſh'd ſome of the Politicians of the preſent Age (who ſeem to have no Security but in ſtanding Armies) would imitate him.

A.D. 1550
A. 4 *Edw.* 6

The Army diſbanded.

Polydore Virgil, the *Italian*, who had now remain'd in *England* near forty Years, chuſing to end his Days in his own Country, was permitted by the King to enjoy the Preferments he had here, notwithſtanding his Abſence, in conſideration of his having ſpent great part of his time in writing the Hiſtory of *England*. But if it be true what is related of him, *viz.* that he pillag'd the publick Libraries, under Pretence of ſearching for Materials, and ſent a whole Ship load of Manuſcripts to *Rome*, he very little deſerv'd ſo much Favour; and had his Hiſtory been as well underſtood then as it is at preſent, he would not have been thought to have merited

Polidore Virgil returns to *Italy*.

*A.D.*1550 much of the *Engliſh* Nation by that Performance.

*A.*4*Edw.*6

No Factions at Court.

Hiſtorians relate, that there were now no Factions or Animoſities perceiv'd at Court, but that thoſe two great Men, the Duke of *Somerſet* and the Earl of *Warwick*, agreed upon a Match between their Children, and accordingly the Earl of *Warwick*'s Son was contracted to the Duke's Daughter. But tho' there was that Harmony among the Laity, there happen'd however, ſome Diſputes among the Reformed Clergy, concerning the Veſtments or Habits proper to be worn by Eccleſiaſticks, on the following Occaſion, *viz.* Dr. *Hooper* being by Letters Patents appointed Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, refus'd to be conſecrated in the Epiſcopal Veſtments, inſiſting, that they were human Inventions, brought in by Tradition or Cuſtom, and not ſuitable to the Simplicity of the *Chriſtian* Religion; that they were invented for celebrating Maſs; and, that all ſuch Ceremonies were condemn'd by St. *Paul* as beggarly Elements. To which Archbiſhop *Cranmer* and Biſhop *Ridley* anſwer'd, that Traditions in matters of Faith were juſtly rejected, but in matters of Rites and Ceremonies, Cuſtom was often a good Argument for the Continuance of that which had been long us'd; that thoſe Places in St. *Paul* related only to the Obſervance of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, which ſome in the Apoſtles time pleaded, were ſtill to be retain'd upon the Authority of their firſt Inſtitution by *Moſes*, which implying that the Meſſias was not yet come, in whom all theſe had their Accompliſhment, the Apoſtles did condemn the Uſe of them on any ſuch Account, tho when the bare obſerving them, without the Opinion

Hooper refuſes to be conſecrated in the Epiſcopal Habit. Arguments for and againſt it.

A.D. 1550
A. 4 Edw. 6

Opinion of ſuch Neceſſity, was like to gain the *Jews*, they complied with them, and both us'd Circumciſion and purified themſelves in the Temple; if then, they who had ſuch abſolute Authority in thoſe matters, did condeſcend ſo far to the Weakneſs of the *Jews*, it was much more becoming Subjects to give Obedience to Laws in things indifferent; and the Abuſe that had been formerly made of them, was no better Reaſon to take away the Uſe of theſe Veſtments, than it was to throw down Churches and take away the Bells, becauſe the one had been Conſecrated and the other Baptiz'd with many ſuperſtitious Ceremonies; and therefore, they requir'd *Hooper* to conform himſelf to the Laws. About the ſame time Archbiſhop *Cranmer* wrote a Letter on this Subject to *Bucer* the *German* Reformer, for whom he had obtain'd the Divinity Chair in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. *Bucer*, in his Anſwer to the Archbiſhop, ſaid, that he thought every Creature of God was good, and no former Abuſe could make it ſo ill that it might not be retain'd; and ſince *theſe Garments had been us'd by the antient Fathers before Popery*, and might ſtill be of good Uſe to the Weak when well underſtood, and help to maintain the miniſterial Dignity, and to ſhew that the Church did not of any Lightneſs change old Cuſtoms, he thought the retaining them expedient, that ſo the People might by ſeeing theſe Veſtments, conſider of the Candor and Purity that became them, and in this Senſe he thought to the Pure all things were pure; and ſo the Apoſtles complied in many things with the *Jews*: Upon the whole matter, he thought

Bucer of Opinion that the Veſtments appointed by Authority ought to be us'd.

A D. 1550 thought *they ſinn'd who refus'd to obey the Laws in that Particular.*

An. 4 Edw. 6

Peter Martyr being conſulted on this Subject alſo, appears to have been of the ſame Opinion with *Bucer*. This I thought proper to tranſcribe from Biſhop *Burnet*, to ſhew that the greateſt Reformers in our own Church, and the moſt celebrated *German* Divines, all agreed that ſuch Veſtments ought to be worn by Eccleſiaſticks as were appointed by Authority, and that it was a Sin to refuſe to wear them, whatever our modern Puritans may think of the matter. But to proceed.

Peter Martyr of the ſame Opinion.

Hooper having remain'd ſuſpended on account of his refuſing the Epiſcopal Habit for ſeveral Months, was in *March* 1551 perſuaded to ſubmit to the Laws of the Church, ſo far as to be conſecrated in his Epiſcopal Robes, and to promiſe, that when he preach'd before the King, or in his Cathedral, or in any publick Place, he would officiate in them; which ſurely he would not have done if he thought it had been ſinful. And yet this ſeems to be one of the greateſt Authorities our Diſſenters have for refuſing to officiate in ſuch Veſtments as are preſcrib'd by the Church, and for their aſſuming another Habit in *oppoſition* to the Government.

Hooper ſuſpended for refuſing the Habit. But ſubmits at length, and is conſecrated.

Biſhop *Burnet* alſo gives us an Account of the perverſe Behaviour of *John Laſco*, a *German* Divine, who fled to *England* with ſome hundreds of his Countrymen, to avoid Perſecution in *Germany*. Theſe Men had been allow'd to hold their Religious Aſſemblies at St. *Auſtin*'s in *London*, after their own way, and were erected into a Corporation, and made Denizens of *England*; but *Laſco* however, Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, did not carry himſelf

himself with that Decency that became a Stranger so kindly receiv'd, for he wrote against the Orders of this Church, both in the matter of the Habits and about the Posture in the Sacrament, being for Sitting rather than Kneeling; and from that Day to this, the Protestant Refugees have generally behav'd in the same manner, ever ready to asperse and revile that Church that receives them with open Arms, and relieves their Wants, and constantly joining with the Enemies of the Church to destroy her.

A.D. 1550
A. 4 Edw. 6
John Lasco, a *German* Refugee, his Insolence on this Occasion.

The Bishops and Clergy who had been appointed to prepare the Book of Ordination finish'd it this Year, none but Bishop *Heath* refusing to comply with it, for which that Prelate was imprison'd; and *Gardiner*, who had been long confin'd on Account of the Opposition he made to the Reformation, was the following Year depriv'd of his Bishoprick of *Winchester*, which was given to Dr. *Poinet*, a zealous Friend of the Protestants. But tho' *Bonner*, *Heath* and *Gardiner* had the Courage openly to oppose all Alterations in Religion, and refus'd to comply with them after they were enacted into Laws, yet for the generality, 'tis observ'd, the Popish Party seem'd to acquiesce in those Alterations, when they had the Sanction of an Act of Parliament, unless it were the Prelates above-mention'd, and the Princess *Mary*, who still continu'd to have Mass said in her Chapel, notwithstanding the King her Brother, and the Council, had frequently prohibited it. The Ministry therefore proceeded to imprison her Chaplains and Servants that were present at Mass, and the Princess herself was threaten'd to be hardly dealt with, if she persisted in her

The Book of Ordination finish'd
Bishop *Heath* imprison'd.
Bishop *Gardiner* depriv'd.

The Princess *Mary* refuses to conform.

Her Chaplains imprison'd.

*A.D.*1550 her refusal to conform; whereupon the Emperor and the Governess of the *Low-Countries*, had provided a Ship to lie upon the Coast of *Essex*, to assist her in making her Escape to *Flanders*; and when this was discover'd, the Emperor let the Ministry know, that if they gave the Princess any further Trouble, he should look upon it as done to himself, and would denounce War against the Kingdom; whereupon it was thought expedient to allow the Princess the Exercise of her Religion in her own way, only enjoining her that it should be as private as possible. About the same time were drawn up two and forty Articles of Religion, containing the Doctrines of the Church of *England*, which were afterwards reduc'd to thirty-nine, and to these all Ecclesiasticks were oblig'd to declare their Assent as it is at this Day.

*A.*4*Edw.*6

She endeavours to escape to *Flanders*.

The Emperor interposes in her behalf.

She is conniv'd at.

42 Articles of Religion

But notwithstanding the King and Council, for Reasons of State, thought fit to suffer the Princess *Mary* to have Mass in her Chapel, the King appear'd so exasperated at her obstinate Adherence to the Popish Faction, and the Council were so apprehensive of her Resentment, and her undoing all that had been hitherto done towards establishing a Reformation, that they began to think of excluding her from the Crown; which, it is said, first gave rise to the Earl of *Warwick*'s Projects of settling the Succession in his own Family. He propos'd to marry his fourth Son (the three eldest being already married,) to the Lady *Jane Gray*, eldest Daughter of the Marquis of *Dorset*, and of *Frances* his Wife, eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, on whom the Crown was settled by Act of Parliament and the late King's Will, on failure

Some Thoughts of excluding the Princess *Mary* from the Crown.

The Earl of *Warwick*'s Designs on the Crown.

failure of Iſſue of the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth*. If this Marriage could be effected, *Warwick* imagin'd it would be no hard matter to get the King's Conſent to exclude his Siſter *Mary* as illegitimate, and on the ſame Pretence, perhaps her Siſter *Elizabeth* afterwards, tho' there were not the ſame Objections to her in Point of Religion, that Princeſs conforming in all reſpects to the Religion eſtabliſh'd. But to facilitate the Plot, he contriv'd to marry that Princeſs to the King of *Denmark*, and ſend her out of the Kingdom, and then he apprehended ſhe would be ſoon forgot, and have but few Friends to eſpouſe her Intereſt in caſe of a Demiſe of the Crown. *A.D.* 1550 / *A.* 4 *Edw.* 6

Rapin's Opinion that he did not think of it ſo ſoon, conſider'd.

But *Rapin* is of Opinion the Earl of *Warwick* did not form this Project ſo early as our Hiſtorians relate, for ſays that Writer, King *Edward* was then in good Health, in the fifteenth Year of his Age, and like to have a numerous Iſſue; and beſides, this very Year *Warwick* negotiated a Marriage between King *Edward* and the *French* King's Daughter, which he would never have done, ſays *Rapin*, if he had any ſuch Views. To this it may be anſwer'd, that tho' the Earl of *Warwick* had no *immediate* Proſpect of being Father in Law to the Queen of *England*, yet ſuppoſing the two Princeſſes could have been ſet aſide, it was very agreeable to the Ambition of a Stateſman to endeavour to match his Son to a Lady, who according to this Scheme, would have been the preſumptive Heir to the reigning Prince; nor is it any ſtrange thing in Hiſtory, to ſee Prime Miniſters depoſe even their Maſters on the Throne in favour of their own Families, and how far

*A.D.*1551 — *A.*5 *Edw.*6

the Earl's Ambition might extend (as he is agreed to be a Man of no Principles) neither *Rapin* nor any other Writer can take upon him to say at this Distance of Time. As to *Warwick*'s treating of a Match for the King with a Daughter of *France*, which seem'd to thwart this Design, this rather confirms it, for the *French* Princess was very young, and the Marriage would not have been consummated for some Years, and consequently, the King might not have had Issue till *Warwick* had brought his Projects to bear; he might possibly propose this Match to prevent the King's marrying another, by whom he might have had Issue in a little time. *Rapin* himself takes Notice of what Bishop *Burnet* says upon this Occasion, *That this Marriage was only to amuse the King*. *Hayward* also observes, That tho' King *Edward* thought himself in perfect Safety after this Marriage was concluded, *yet he was in extreme Danger*. Give me leave also to remember here, that the King's Father *Henry* VIII. had executed *Dudley*, this very Earl's Father, and possibly, one Motive to destroy King *Edward*, might be to retaliate the Injury the Earl might imagine had been done his Father, who was said to have suffer'd only for obeying the Orders of his Sovereign. But to proceed.

A Marriage treated of between King *Edward* and a Daughter of *France*.

It is very certain that a splendid Embassy was sent to *France* about this time, to negotiate a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the *French* King *Henry* II. to whom the Ensigns of the Order of the Garter were deliver'd at the same time, and a Treaty was concluded accordingly, by which it was agreed, that King

Edward

Edward ſhould have two hundred thouſand Crowns with his Bride, and her Dowry ſhould be equal to what any former Queen of *England* had enjoy'd; but the Marriage Contract was not to be made in Words of preſent time, till a Month after the Princeſs ſhould be enter'd into the twelfth Year of her Age. Soon after the *French* King ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *England*, and with it the Enſigns of the Order of St. *Michael* to his intended Son in Law King *Edward*, and there ſeem'd to be a perfect Harmony between the two Courts; at which ſome of the moſt zealous Reformers were alarm'd, apprehending that this Match would occaſion the re-eſtabliſhment of Popery in *England*. Old Biſhop *Latimer* preach'd on this Subject before the King, and advis'd him to take a Proteſtant to his Bed. But it does not appear to have had any Effect either on the King or his Miniſtry. *A.D.* 1551 — *A.* 5 *Edw.* 6

Biſhop *Latimer* preaches againſt it.

The Sweating Sickneſs viſited the Nation again in *April* this Year, and laſted till *October*, being very mortal, and carrying off the Patient in twenty-four Hours. Among others who died of it, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, by his ſecond Wife, whereby that Title became extinct; but was reviv'd very ſuddenly, at the next Creation of the Nobility, when *Henry Grey* Marquis of *Dorſet*, and Father of the Lady *Jane Grey*, was made Duke of *Suffolk*; the Earl of *Warwick* himſelf was created Duke of *Northumberland*; *William Paulet* Earl of *Wiltſhire* and Lord Treaſurer, was made Marquis of *Wiltſhire*; and Sir *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*: And a very little before, the Lord *Ruſſel* had been created Earl of *Bedford*; and Sir *Thomas Darcy* made Lord *Darcy*. Theſe

The Sweating Sickneſs.

A Creation of the Nobility.

*A.D.*1551 were the Duke of *Northumberland*'s (*Warwick*'s) fast Friends, and came into his Measures without reserve.

*A.*5 *Edw.*6

The Duke of *Somerset*'s Ruin contriv'd.

And as the Duke of *Somerset* was look'd upon to be the most capable of defeating *Northumberland*'s Projects, and had form'd a Design, as was given out, of resuming his former Post, and of excluding *Northumberland* and his Adherents from any Share in the Government, his Ruin was at this time resolv'd on; to which end People were plac'd about the King, to give him an ill Opinion of his Uncle, and render his Loyalty suspected: They contriv'd also to give *Somerset* such Slights and Affronts, as might provoke him at least to use some rash Expressions; and at the same time, alarm'd him with imaginary Dangers design'd against his Person, that he might be induc'd to arm his Dependants, and thereby give some Colour to what they charg'd him with. They gain'd over to their Party also Sir *Thomas Palmer*, one of *Somerset*'s intimate Friends, who betray'd his Conversation, and put the worst Construction on all his Actions; upon whose Evidence, the Duke of *Somerset* and his Friends, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, were committed to the *Tower*, together with Sir *Thomas Palmer*, that it might not be suspected from whence the Discovery came, and the Duke might be unprepar'd to make his Defence; and tho' the Evidence at last prov'd no more, than that he consulted with, and incited others to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland* and two other Lords; yet it appears, even by the young King's Journal, that they had made him believe the Duke of

He is sent to the *Tower* with his Friends.

Somerset

Somerset design'd to have assassinated the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*, and to have rais'd a Rebellion; which induc'd this unhappy Prince to abandon his Uncle, his only support, to the Malice of his Enemies, and to suffer even the three Lords above-mention'd (tho' they were Parties in the Cause) to sit in Judgment upon him. *A.D.* 1551 — *A.* 5 *Edw.* 6

His Trial.

The Duke was brought to his Trial before the Peers on the 1st of *December*, being indicted for *High-Treason*, in conspiring to seize the Person of the King and the Administration of the Government, and to raise a Rebellion in the City of *London*; and if our Historians are not impos'd on, he was by the same Indictment charg'd with *Felony*, in conspiring to *imprison* the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the two other Lords who were Privy-Counsellors.

Indicted both for Treason and Felony

The Witnesses not examin'd in Court.

It is related also by the same Historians, that the Depositions of *Palmer*, and the other Witnesses were read at the Trial, and that no Witnesses were produc'd in Court, tho' the Duke insisted that they should be brought Face to Face according to Law, and this was certainly another very great Hardship. The Duke, in his Defence, denied that he had any Intention to raise an Insurrection, and shew'd the Improbability of it, having only arm'd a few Servants for his Defence, whereas the *Gens d' Arms* about the Court were upwards of nine hundred Men; and as another Argument of his Innocence, observ'd, that he had surrender'd himself without offering to resist. He denied also, 'tis said, that he had any Design against the Lives of the three Lords above-mention'd; but says nothing to that part

His Defence.

A.D.1551 part of the Indictment which charges him with an *Intention to imprison* the Duke of *Northumberland*, &c. And indeed I can't perceive by the Statute * he is said to be indicted upon, that *an Intention to imprison a Privy-Counsellor* was Felony; the Act indeed declares it to be *High-Treason* for twelve Persons or more *to assemble with an Intention to kill or imprison a Privy-Counsellor*, if they did not disperse within an Hour after Proclamation made for that Purpose, *but the Duke was acquitted of High-Treason*, and consequently, of breaking this Branch of the Statute.

A. 5 Edw. 6

*3 & 4 Ed. 6 Cap. 5.

It was also by the same Statute made *Felony for any Person to procure or incite others to commit the Offences aforesaid*, and this there is all the Reason in the World to believe he was indicted for and convicted of, for he appears to have procur'd and incited others to have assisted him in *some attempt* against the Duke of *Northumberland* and the other two Lords, even by his own Confession †; and it is highly probable, that this Attempt extended at least to the restraining them of their Liberty, which was Felony by that Statute; I am apt to believe therefore, upon taking a View of the Act, that both the Indictment and the Duke's Defence are very lamely transmitted to us. As for the vulgar Remark, that the Duke might have saved his Life by demanding his Clergy, this is evidently a Mistake, because Clergy is taken away

† *The Warrant for the Duke's Execution, which may be found in* Strype's Memorials, *recites, that he had been convicted of Felony, in procuring or inciting others to kill or imprison* Northumberland *and the other Lords.*

away from the Offence of procuring and inciting others to deprive a Privy-Counſellor of Life or Liberty by this Act; but I muſt confeſs it remains a doubt with me, whither the Perſon inciting and procuring another to kill or impriſon a Privy-Counſellor, was guilty of Felony by that Act, *unleſs twelve or more Perſons in purſuance of ſuch Incitement or Advice had actually aſſembled to commit the Fact, and had refus'd to diſperſe after Proclamation made*, tho' the Peers before whom he was tried, muſt be of Opinion it was Felony, or the Act above recited, wou'd have given them no Colour to find the Duke guilty of Felony. But Mr. *Rapin* and our Hiſtorians, who ſuppoſe the *Intention alone* of killing or impriſoning a Privy-Counſellor was Felony by that Act, (unleſs that Intention was manifeſted by aſſembling for that end, or by inciting others to aſſemble) were certainly under a Miſtake. *A.D.1551* *A.5 Edw.6* The Intention to kill or impriſon a Privy-Counſellor *alone* not Treaſon or Felony by the Act.

The Day after the Duke's Trial, his four Friends, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *Miles Partridge*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, and Sir *Ralph Vane*, were tried and convicted, but whether of Treaſon or Felony our Hiſtorians do not inform us; they relate however, that the Jury were ſhut up a Day and a Night before they would find Sir *Thomas Arundel* guilty. Theſe Gentlemen all of them proteſted they were innocent to the laſt, but were notwithſtanding condemn'd and executed: *Partridge* and *Vane* were hang'd, and the other two beheaded; but the Duke of *Somerſet* was not executed till two Months afterwards; it was probably with Difficulty that the young King was prevail'd on to conſent to the Death of his Uncle. Our Hiſtorians ſuggeſt, that if his The Duke's Friends executed.

*A.D.*1551 his Enemies had not wrought up the King to a Belief that the Duke was guilty of much more than he was convicted of at his Trial, he would never have ſuffer'd the Sentence to be executed. And it is related, to the Honour of the Lord Chancellor *Rich*, that he never deſerted his Friend the Duke of *Somerſet* under his Misfortunes, but did him all manner of good Offices while he remain'd a Priſoner in the *Tower*, and had ſome Hopes of obtaining his Pardon; but a Letter the Chancellor ſent the Duke being unhappily intercepted, he was oblig'd to deſiſt, and was himſelf ſoon after laid aſide for the Friendſhip he had ſhewn the Duke; when the Biſhop of *Ely* was made Lord Chancellor in his room.

A.5 Edw.6

*A.D.*1552 A Warrant being at length obtain'd for the Execution of the Duke, on the 22d of *January* he was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, where he made a Speech to the People, and aſſur'd them, that he was not conſcious of any Offence he had been guilty of againſt the King. He gave God Thanks for the Share he had in bringing about a Reformation, and exhorted the People to live anſwerable to that pure Religion that was eſtabliſh'd amongſt them, leaſt they ſhould draw down the Vengeance of Heaven upon their Heads. (Here he was interrupted by the Rejoicings of the Crowd, who upon the Appearance of Sir *Anthony Brown*, imagin'd he was bringing a Pardon; but this proving a Miſtake, and Silence being made again,) he proceeded, declaring his Submiſſion to the Will of God, and deſir'd that his Friends would acquieſce in it, and continue in Obedience to his Majeſty and the Government, concluding with aſking Pardon of all he had offended;

A.6 Edw.6

The Execution of the Duke of *Somerſet*.

offended, after which, having made himself ready for the Block, and taken Leave of his Friends, without any Change of Countenance he bid the Executioner do his Duty, and thereupon his Head was sever'd from his Body. A.D. 1552 A. 6 Edw. 6

The Parliament meeting on the 23d of *January*, a Bill was brought into the House of Peers for repealing a Settlement that had been confirm'd by Parliament, of the Duke of *Somerset*'s Estate, formerly made in favour of his Children by his second Wife to exclude the Children of the first, from whom are descended the *Seymours* of *Devonshire*, in which the Duke of *Northumberland*, had caus'd a Clause to be inserted, importing that the Duke of *Somerset* had been justly condemn'd; But the Commons threw out that Clause, and pass'd the Bill without it, which shews they were far from being convinc'd of his Guilt. The Parliament meet. Refuse to approve the Sentence against the Duke of *Somerset*.

The Duke of *Northumberland* also caus'd a Bill of Attainder to be introduc'd into the House of Lords against Dr. *Tonstal* Bishop of *Durham*, who was at this time under Confinement, having been committed for Suspicion of Treason. The Duke, it's said, had cast his Eyes upon the Temporalties which belong'd to that See, and design'd to have settled them on his Family, if he could have pass'd the Bill of Attainder through both Houses; for nothing was so common in those Days, as for the Courtiers to strip the Bishopricks of great part of their Lands and Revenues upon a Vacancy. And tho' the House of Peers, over whom the Ministry has ever too great an Influence, pass'd the Bill by a great Majority, scarce any but Archbishop *Cranmer* opposing it, yet the Commons did not

*A.D.*1552 *A.*6 *Edw.*6

not approve of this way of condemning Men unheard, and without giving them an Opportunity of confronting the Witneſſes, which had been ſo much practis'd in this and the former Reign. Having rejected this Bill therefore, they caus'd another to be brought in, wherein it was provided, that no Perſon ſhould be indicted, arraign'd, condemn'd, convicted, or attainted for any Treaſon whatever, but by the Teſtimony of two lawful Witneſſes, to be produc'd in Court at the Arraignment and Trial of the Priſoner, and who ſhould avow and maintain their Evidence in his Preſence. It was further provided by the ſame Act, that when a Perſon outlaw'd for Treaſon ſhould ſurrender himſelf to the Chief Juſtice, within one Year after the Out-lawry pronounc'd, he ſhould be admitted to take his Trial, notwithſtanding ſuch Outlawry: Which two Clauſes are ſtill in Force: But there were others, declaring ſeveral Offences to be Treaſon by this Act, which are ſince repeal'd.

They refuſe to paſs a Bill of Attainder againſt the Biſhop of *Durham*.

An Act for two Witneſſes on a Charge of Treaſon.

Perſons outlaw'd admitted to a Trial on ſurrendering themſelves.

By another Act of this Seſſion, every Perſon was requir'd to reſort to his Pariſh Church every Sunday and Holiday, on pain of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures.

Penalties inflicted for abſenting from Church.

And it was further Enacted, that the Common-Prayer Book, as it ſtood alter'd and perfected, together with the Addition of conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, ſhould for the future be us'd in Churches and no other.

Common-Prayer Book with the Alterations eſtabliſh'd.

And if any one ſhould be convicted of being preſent at any other Form of Prayer, *&c.* he ſhould ſuffer ſix Months Impriſonment for the firſt Offence, twelve Months Impriſon-

Impriſonment for the ſecond Offence, and Impriſonment for Life for the third. *A.D.* 1552

A. 6 *Edw* 6

By another Act of this Seſſion, the Number of Holidays were aſcertain'd, being much the ſame they are at preſent. Holidays aſcertain'd.

And by *Cap.* 4. Penalties were inflicted on thoſe who quarrell'd, or made any Diſturbances in Churches or Church-Yards. Diſturbances in Churches and Church Yards puniſh'd.

By *Cap.* 12. it is declar'd, that whereas a former Act which had paſs'd for the Marriage of the Clergy, was only look'd upon as a Permiſſion for them to marry, and their Marriages conniv'd at, as ſome other unlawful things were, on which Conſideration the Wives and Children of the Clergy were reproachfully treated, and the Word of God not heard with that Reverence that it ought; Marriages of the Clergy declar'd lawful.

It was Enacted, that the Marriage of the Clergy ſhould be adjudg'd and deem'd true and lawful Matrimony, their Children legitimate, and capable of inheriting the Eſtates of their Anceſtors, as the Children of Laymen were; and that the Man might be Tenant by the Courteſy, and the Wife endow'd as in other Caſes.

Provided, that this Act ſhould not give Liberty to any to marry without aſking in the Church, and celebrating their Marriages after the manner requir'd by the Common-Prayer-Book.

There paſs'd an Act alſo in this Parliament for uniting the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* to that of *London*, the Collegiate Church however being ſtill continu'd. Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* diſſolv'd.

By *Cap.* 13. Monks, and other Religious Perſons, were render'd capable of inheriting the Eſtates of their Anceſtors, from the time Monks made capable of inheriting Eſtates.

A.D 1552 of their deraignment or departing out of Religion.

A. 6 *Edw.* 6

The Lands belonging to Bishopricks, Deans and Chapters, *&c.* transferr'd to Laymen.

But notwithstanding the many good Laws that were made in this Reign for the Advancement of Religion, no Provision was made for the Clergy; nay, the greatest part of the Lands belonging to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and even private Benefices, were given to Laymen; so that the Ecclesiasticks were miserably impoverish'd, and probably, this made them so ready to return to Popery again in the next Reign, in Expectation that their Lands and former Perquisites would be restor'd them; for few are so devoted to any Persuasion, as willingly to suffer Poverty, and the Contempt consequent upon it, for their Principles.

Bishops hold their Sees of the Crown during their good Behaviour.

Heath and *Day* depriv'd.

The Bishops who before held their Sees of the King during Life, were now oblig'd to hold them during their good Behaviour, which made them still more dependant on the Crown. Dr. *Heath* Bishop of *Worcester*, and Dr. *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, who were Popishly affected, were both depriv'd of their Bishopricks this Year, by a Court of Delegates consisting of Laymen only; nor does it appear for what Offences they were so hardly dealt with; possibly, the principal Inducement to the Prosecution, was to strip their Sees of part of their Revenues, which we find exceeding moderate at present, particularly the latter.

Persons possess'd of Chantry-Lands fin'd, or oblig'd to restore them.

The Duke of *Northumberland* also, partly to revenge himself on the late Duke of *Somerset*'s Friends, and partly to gratifie his Avarice, prosecuted all those on whom any Chantry Lands had been conferr'd in the beginning of this Reign, and oblig'd them, either

either to reſtore them to the Crown, or pay ſuch Fines as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. The Lord *Paget* in particular was fined ſix thouſand Pounds, and depriv'd of the Order of the Garter, under pretence he was of an obſcure Family, and no Gentleman by Birth. *A.D.* 1552. *A.* 6 *Edw.* 6. Lord *Paget* fined.

There were ſome Things however done under the Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Northumberland*, for which his Memory ought to be had in Honour at this Day, particularly his diſſolving the Corporation of the *Germain* Merchants, or the Merchants of the *Steel-yard*, which had been ſettled in *London* ever ſince the Reign of *Henry* III. They were Natives of the Hans Towns, *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, *&c.* who till this time had in a manner engroſſed the Trade and Navigation of the Northern Kingdoms of *Europe*. This Company imported and exported to and from *England*, moſt of the Merchandize that was brought into or carry'd out of the Kingdom; they had all the Trade in their Hands, and ſet what Prizes upon Goods they pleaſed; inſomuch that the Subjects of *England*, who now began to have a Genius for Navigation and foreign Commerce, found themſelves under great Diſadvantages from this monopolizing Corporation, who were able to outbid them abroad, and to under-ſell them at home; and by beating every Body elſe out of the Foreign Trade, made what Markets they pleaſed: In ſhort, the Merchants of the *Steel-yard* were as deſtructive to private Traders in thoſe Days, as our great Companies are at preſent. This Grievance the Duke of *Northumberland* eaſed the Nation of, by putting an end to the Monopoly, and encouraging The Corporation of the Merchants of the *Steel-yard* diſſolv'd. Foreign Trade encouraged.

A.D. 1552 couraging the *Engliſh* to apply themſelves to Navigation, and thereby laid the Foundation of that Strength at Sea, and extenſive Commerce, which *England* became ſo famous for in the ſucceeding Reigns; for till then we ſcarce traded to any Nation in our own Bottoms, or had any Ships of Force. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that this Corporation, ſo pernicious to the Trade of *England*, had been diſſolv'd much ſooner, but that the Court frequently ſtood in need of them, and borrow'd great Sums of Money of them on any Emergency: And whenever Complaints were made againſt the Corporation, they frequently ſilenc'd them by bribing thoſe in the Adminiſtration to eſpouſe their Intereſt.

A. 6 *Edw.* 6

Scotland. There happen'd a conſiderable Alteration in the Adminiſtration in *Scotland* about this time; the Queen Mother having taken a Voyage to *France* under pretence of viſiting her Daughter, ſo inſinuated herſelf into the *French* Court, that they promiſed to aſſiſt her in obtaining the Regency of *Scotland*, whereupon ſhe return'd home thro' *England*, where ſhe was ſplendily entertain'd by King *Edward*. And at her arrival at *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Arran*, the then Regent, reſign'd the Government into her Hands without diſputing the Matter. However, his Brother the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrew*'s made ſome attempts to deprive the Queen of the Adminiſtration afterwards, but as ſhe was ſupported by the *French* on one Hand, and had made the *Engliſh* her Friends, as well as the Reform'd (who were now pretty numerous in that Kingdom) by promiſing them the free Exerciſe of their Religion, the Archbiſhop found her too firmly ſettled to be removed.

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The *German* Proteſtants had the Good Fortune alſo this Year to defeat the Emperor's Troops, and reduce him to very great Straits, whereupon he was oblig'd to grant them Liberty of Conſcience by a ſolemn Edict made at *Paſſaw*. *A.D.* 1552. *A.* 6 *Edw.* 6. Succeſs of the *German* Proteſtants.

The Duke of *Northumberland*, finding he could get nothing carried in the late Houſe of Commons to his Mind, had diſſolv'd the Parliament, and cauſed another to be choſen that was more Complaiſant*. This Parliament met on the firſt of *March*, when two Things were propoſed to them, the one the granting the King a Supply, and the other the Suppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Durham*; in both which the Parliament ſhew'd a great deal of Readineſs. They gave the King two Tenths and two Fifteenths to be paid within two Years: The Inducement to which in the Preamble of the Bill, appears to be the Male Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was ſaid to have ſquander'd away the King's Treaſure, and run him in Debt; but this was evidently dictated by his Enemy the Duke of *Northumberland*. The Deſign of Suppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Durham* was pretended to be to erect two others of a more moderate Circuit, the one at *Durham*, which was to have been endow'd with two thouſand Marks *per Ann.* and the other with one thouſand Marks *per Ann.* But it appears that all the Lands and Revenues beſides belonging to

A.D. 1553. *A* 7 *Edw.* 6. A new Parliament meets.

Great Supplies granted

The Lands belonging to the Biſhoprick of *Durham* ſettled on the Earl of *Northumberland*.

* *Letters were iſſued in the King's Name to the ſeveral Corporations, to elect ſuch Members as ſhould be recommended to them by the Council; and other Letters were ſent to ſeveral Sheriffs, to return ſuch Knights of Shires as were* named *in the King's Letters.* Strype's Memoirs, Vol. 2. *pag.* 394.

6 Edw. 6 to that Bishoprick (which was erected into a County Palatine) were settled on the Duke of *Northumberland* himself and his Heirs, which was notoriously the principal Inducement to the dissolving the Bishoprick. Dr. *Tonstal*, who held that See, had been depriv'd some little time before, but for what Crime, or on what Pretence, does not appear; and now the Parliament having finish'd the Business they were assembled for, were dissolv'd on the 31st of *March*, being within a Month after they were assembled.

A.D. 1553

The Clergy give the King six Shillings in the Pound.

The Convocation of the Clergy about the same time gave the King six Shillings in the Pound out of their Revenues, to be levy'd within the space of three Years.

The King's last Illness.

King *Edward* had recover'd both of the Measles and Small Pox the preceding Year, but was now taken with a violent Cold, which occasion'd a Defluction on his Lungs, and made his Physicians begin to despair of his Life, which not being conceal'd from his Majesty, he shew'd no manner of dread, 'tis said, at the approach of Death on his own Account, but express'd some concern however, that he should be succeeded by his Sister *Mary*, a bigotted Papist, who would probably put a stop to the Reformation, and introduce Popery again; whereupon the Duke of *Northumberland* immediately caus'd the Marriage he had projected between his Son *Guildford Dudley* and the Lady *Jane Grey* to be solemnized; and encouraging the young King in his Apprehensions of the return of Popery, insinuated that the only means to prevent it, was to exclude his Sisters *Mary* and *Elizabeth* from the Crown, on Pretence of their Illegitimacy, and to settle

The Lord *Guildford Dudley* married to *Jane Grey*.

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it on the Lady *Jane Grey* after his Deceaſe. For tho' there was no Objection to be made to the Princeſs *Elizabeth* on account of Religion; it is generally believ'd the Duke ſuggeſted, that as both their Titles depended on the ſame Settlement, he muſt exclude both or neither of them. But however that was, the Thing being reſolv'd on, the Judges were order'd to prepare a Settlement for limiting the Succeſſion of the Crown according to this Scheme. To which it ſeems they objected, That ſuch an Undertaking would be conſtrued High-Treaſon by an Act made in the Reign of the late King. At which the Duke of *Northumberland* was ſo exaſperated, that he call'd them Traytors, and gave them a great deal of opprobrious Language. However the Judges perſiſted in their Refuſal for ſome time, 'till at length, either by Threats or Promiſes, they were prevail'd on to undertake it, on Condition they might have a Pardon for what they ſhould do. And thereupon the Settlement being drawn and engroſs'd, was ſign'd by the King, the Privy-Council and Judges on the twenty-firſt of *June*, Judge *Hales* only refuſing it.

A.D. 1553
A. 7 *Edw.* 6

The Crown ſettled on her

Judge *Hale*'s only refuſing to ſign it.

While the King lay Ill the Duke of *Northumberland* prevail'd on him alſo to ſign a new Commiſſion for a further Viſitation of the Churches; By Virtue of which he ſeized all their Plate and Ornaments, under Pretence they were put to Supperſtitious Uſes; leaving only in every Church a Chalice or two, and Linnen for the Communion Table. Biſhop *Ridley* preaching before the King about the ſame time on the Subject of Charity and Alms-deeds; the King, who look'd upon the Diſcourſe to be addreſſed chiefly to himſelf,

The Churches plunder'd of thereſtof their Plate on Pretence of a Viſitation.

*A.D.*1553 gave his Palace of *Bridewell* to the City of *London* with a ſuitable Revenue for ſetting their idle Poor to work, and providing for Madmen, and thoſe who were diſorder'd in their Senſes: St. *Bartholomew*'s in *Smithfield* he alſo order'd to be converted into, or rather continu'd an Hoſpital for Sick and Wounded; and the *Grey Fryars*, now *Chriſt Church*, which had been given to charitable Uſes by *Hen.* VIII. was now appropriated to poor Orphans, and the Revenues very much encreas'd by this King. A particular account of which Hoſpitals will be found in the fourteenth Volume of *Modern Hiſtory*.

*A.*7 *Edw.*6

The King erects ſeveral Hoſpital in the City.

And now the young King being given over by his Phyſicians, a Woman who pretended to have great skill in his Diſtemper was ſuffer'd to adminiſter Phyſick to him, but to very little Purpoſe, there being no Hopes of his Recovery. Some were of Opinion the Duke of *Northumberland* had given the King a ſlow Poiſon in order to make way for his Daughter-in-Law to the Throne; but I don't find there was any thing more to warrant this Suſpicion than the Peoples Conjectures, who ſeeing the Duke take ſuch extraordinary Steps to defeat the two Princeſſes of their Right, imagin'd him capable of any thing afterwards. But however that was, the King died on the ſixth of *July* in the 16th Year of his Age, and the ſeventh of his Reign. The Duke of *Northumberland* expecting he ſhould meet with great Oppoſition in ſetting the Lady *Jane Grey* upon the Throne if the two Princeſſes were at Liberty, fram'd two Letters to them as from the King a little before he died, wherein his Majeſty deſir'd to ſee them, by which means the Duke hop'd to have

The King dies

have got them into his Power. But some of their Friends at Court suspecting his Designs, and giving them some Intimation of the Matter as they were upon the Road to *London*, they return'd back on a sudden, and escap'd the Snare. A.D. 1553 A. 7 Edw. 6

This Prince had a very beautiful and engaging Person, but the Beauties and Perfections of his Mind are said to have exceeded whatever fell to the share of any Mortal, and are even term'd Miraculous. However, it is generally allow'd he had good natural Parts, well improv'd by Education. That he understood *Greek* and *Latin*, and some Modern Languages, and was extremely Pious and Devout, zealous to abolish Popery and establish the Reformation. That he kept a Diary, which is still preserv'd in the *Cotton* Library; and in it, according to Bishop *Nicholson*, the most considerable Transactions of his Reign are as well registred as by any other Historians. It is publish'd in Bishop *Burnet*'s History of the Reformation, to which I refer the Reader. But still King *Edward* was a Minor, and underwent the common Fate of young Princes being impos'd on by Crafty Courtiers, who in his Name committed very great Outrages; the Laws were often stretch'd and perverted to the Destruction of his Subjects, and even of his nearest Relations and best Friends; rapacious Courtiers seiz'd the Church Lands, and plunder'd the Churches of their Plate and Ornaments under Pretence of greater Reformation; running the Crown in Debt at the same time, and debasing the Coin. It would be injust to impute these Errors in Government to the young King; for notwithstanding what has been said of his His Character.

Parts, he must in so green an Age want that Penetration that usually attends those of riper Years, to discover the Intrigues of designing Statesmen; he was still a Child, and *Solomon*'s Observation was then sufficiently verified, that it is unhappy for any Nation to have an infant King, incapable of holding the Reins of Government in his Hands.

His Title. *Edward* VI. being the only Son of his Father *Henry* VIII. by *Jane Seymour* his third Wife, and both Queen *Katherine* and Queen *Anne* his former Wives being dead before the Marriage of *Henry* VIII. with this Prince's Mother, no Objection can be made to the Legitimacy of King *Edward*, or to his Title.

His Marriage with a Daughter of *France*. He was contracted, as has been obsery'd, in Words of future time, to the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Henry* II. King of *France*; but dying before that Lady arriv'd at the Age of Consent, that Marriage never took Effect, and consequently, he left no Children capable of succeeding him.

Statutes made in this Reign. Besides the Statutes already mention'd, relating to Religion and Government in this Reign, there are some others that deserve our Notice, particularly, an Act of 1 *Edw.* 6. which made all Beggars and idle People Slaves to the Persons who took them up, unless they were impotent.

Beggars and Clerks convict made Slaves. Clerks convict also, instead of making their Purgation, were to be Slaves to any one that would take them, and every Person who had such a Slave was allow'd to put an Iron Collar about his Neck. But this being thought too severe a Law, was repeal'd by 3 and 4 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 16.

By

By 1 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 7. it was Enacted, that the King's Death ſhould not diſcontinue any Suit. Proceſs continu'd.

By 1 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 13. Tonnage and Poundage, with a Duty on Wool and Leather, was granted to the King for Life. Which Act recites, that the like Duties had been granted to King *Henry* VIII. and King *Henry* VII. and their Predeceſſors, for the Guard of the Seas, *&c.* Tonnage and Poundage granted to the King for Life.

By 2 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 3. it was Enacted, that the King's Purveyors ſhould not take any Proviſions for the King's Uſe, without the full Conſent of the Owner. Which Practice had in this and ſeveral preceding Reigns been a very great Grievance. The Privileges of the King's Purveyors taken away.

By 2 and 3 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 15. Puniſhments are inflicted on Victuallers conſpiring to raiſe the Price of their Victuals, and on Labourers who enter into Combinations in relation to their Work. Victuallers Labourers.

By 2 and 3 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 24. Where a Perſon is wounded or poiſon'd in one County and dies in another, the Murderer may be tried where the Party dies. Trial of Murder.

By 2 and 3 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 23. the Benefit of Clergy is taken away from Horſe-ſtealers. Horſe-ſtealers.

By 5 and 6 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 9. the Benefit of Clergy is taken away from Houſe-breakers, *&c.* Clergy, Houſe-breakers.

By 5 and 6 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 14. Puniſhments are inflicted on Foreſtallers, Regrators, and Ingroſſers of Corn, *&c.* Foreſtallers, *&c.*

By 5 and 6 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 25. all Perſons are forbidden to ſell Ale or Beer without Licenſe, and entering into Recognizances to keep good Orders in their Houſes. Alehouſe-keepers.

By

Prices of Wine ſettled.

By 7 *Edw.* 6. *Cap.* 5. it is Enacted, that no Perſon ſhall ſell *Guienne*, *Gaſcon*, or other *French* Wine by Retail, for more than two Pence a Quart, or *Rochelle* Wine for more than a Penny a Quart, nor any other Wine for more than three Pence a Quart. And the Number of Taverns and Wine-Cellars in the City of *London*, were limited to forty.

The North-Eaſt Paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies* was attempted in the laſt Year of King *Edward* VI. *Anno* 1553, and a Diſcovery made of the Northern part of *Muſcovy*; for an Account whereof I refer the Reader to the 6th Volume of *Modern Hiſtory*, p. 81.

CHAP.

MARY.

J. Mynde Scul. S. Aris Impro

CHAP. XXXII.

Contains the Reign of Queen MARY.

THE Princeſs *Mary* being come within half a Day's Journey of the Court, upon the Invitation already mention'd, and receiving Advice from the Earl of *Arundel* that the King was dead, and that *Northumberland* had a Deſign to ſecure her Perſon, retir'd in haſt to *Framlingham-Caſtle* in *Suffolk*, which being a Place of ſome Strength, ſhe believ'd ſhe ſhould be able to defend herſelf there, till her Friends came to her Aſſiſtance; and if ſhe ſhould be oblig'd to give way to her Rival, the Caſtle lay ſo near the Sea, that ſhe might eaſily embark from thence for *Flanders*, and wait for a favourable Turn. In the mean time ſhe wrote a Letter to the Council, dated the 9th of *July*, wherein ſhe acquainted them, that ſhe was not ignorant of her Brother's Death, and admir'd they had given her no Notice of it; that it look'd as if they had eſpous'd another Intereſt; however, ſhe was ready to pardon paſs'd Tranſgreſſions if they would return to their Duty.

The Princeſs *Mary* retires to *Framlingham-Caſtle*

Writes to the Council

When ſhe came to *Framlingham-Caſtle* ſhe took upon her the Stile of Queen, and being proclaim'd at *Norwich*, ſent Circular Letters to all the Nobility to reſort to her, and aſſiſt her in Defence of her juſt Rights. In the mean time the Duke of *Northumberland* finding the King's Death could be no longer conceal'd, attended his Daughter-in-Law, the Lady *Jane Grey*, at *Durham-Houſe*, being accompanied thither by her Father the Duke of

Takes the Title of Queen.

*A.D.*1553 of *Suffolk*; they let her know that they were deputed by the Council to acquaint her with the King's Death, and that he had appointed her to ſucceed to the Crown. The young Lady, who was not then above ſixteen Years of Age, anſwer'd, that the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were both before her in the Settlement of the Crown made by King *Henry* VIII. and ſhe had no Ambition to deprive them of their Rights. But being told, that the Council and the Judges were unanimous in their Opinion that the Crown belong'd to her, and repreſenting, poſſibly, the Danger the Proteſtant Religion would be in, if the Princeſs *Mary* was advanc'd to the Throne. By theſe and the like Arguments they prevail'd on her to accept it. Whereupon the Lady *Jane*, with the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the reſt of the Council, retir'd to the Palace in the *Tower*, and the next Day being the 11th of *July*, ſhe was proclaim'd Queen with the uſual Solemnity, but not with the uſual Acclamations of Joy; for tho' ſhe is allow'd on all hands, to have been a Lady of great Merit, and a zealous Proteſtant, as a Majority of the Nation were at this time, yet the arbitrary and tirannical Adminiſtration of the Duke of *Northumberland*, her Father-in-Law, who would have continu'd to govern the State, if the Lady *Jane* had been eſtabliſh'd in the Throne, gave both the Nobility and People ſuch a melancholly Proſpect, that very few of them eſpous'd her Cauſe, notwithſtanding they could not but expect her Rival the Princeſs *Mary* would endeavour to bring the Nation under the Dominion of the See of *Rome* again. But to proceed.

A. 1 *Mary.*

Jane Grey proclaim'd Queen.

The

The Duke of *Northumberland* having the Council in a manner Priſoners in the *Tower*, oblig'd them to enter into ſuch Meaſures as he ſaw fit. And firſt a Letter was drawn up in Anſwer to that of the Princeſs *Mary*'s, wherein they let her know, that as her Mother's Marriage had been adjudg'd unlawful, and ſhe had been declar'd Illegitimate by ſeveral Parliaments, ſhe could have no Title to the Crown, and therefore requir'd her to drop her Pretenſions, and acknowledge Queen *Jane* her Sovereign, who ſat upon the Throne by Virtue of a Settlement made by the late King *Edward* VI. But the Princeſs *Mary* having been join'd by the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, who engag'd to maintain her upon the Throne, on her promiſing to make no Alterations in Religion, had very little regard to the Declarations of the Council, eſpecially as ſhe underſtood many of them were in her Intereſt, and ready to come over to her whenever they ſhould have an Opportunity. The Duke of *Northumberland* therefore finding *Mary*'s Forces encreaſe every Day, repreſented the Neceſſity there was of aſſembling an Army, and marching againſt her before ſhe ſhould receive any further Reinforcements, and propos'd the Duke of *Suffolk* to Command the Army. But the Lord *Arundel*, and ſome other Members of the Council, who wanted to ſee the Duke of *Northumberland* at a Diſtance from them, that they might be at Liberty to act according to their Inclinations, put him upon commanding the Army in Perſon, which, with much Perſuaſion, he conſented to, and left the Duke of *Suffolk*,

A.D. 1553

A. 1 *Mary.*

The Council write to the Princeſs *Mary.*

*A.D.*1553 Queen *Jane*'s Father, to ſupply his Place in his Abſence.

A. 1 *Mary.*

Northumberland marches againſt the Princeſs *Mary.*

Northumberland march'd from *London* on the 14th of *July*, at the Head of two thouſand Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot, towards the general Rendezvous which he had appointed at *Newmarket*. At which time Dr. *Ridley* Biſhop of *London*, and ſome other celebrated Preachers, were employ'd to ſhew the Danger of Popery, if the Princeſs *Mary* ſhould ſucceed, and to exhort the People to ſtand up in Defence of Queen *Jane*. But the Nation in general however appear'd averſe to the Acceſſion of *Jane Grey*, and even the Troops which *Northumberland* led down to *Newmarket*, many of them deſerted before he arriv'd there. He receiv'd Advice alſo, that Sir *Edward Haſtings*, who had been employ'd to raiſe Forces for Queen *Jane* in *Buckinghamſhire*, was deſerted over to her Rival with four thouſand Men; and a Squadron of Ships that had been order'd to lie upon the Coaſt of *Suffolk*, to prevent any Forces coming over from *Flanders* to the Aſſiſtance of the Princeſs *Mary*, alſo declar'd for her.

His Forces deſert to the Princeſs *Mary.*

Northumberland therefore, finding himſelf in no Condition to engage the Enemy, retir'd from *Newmarket* to *Cambridge*, and ſent an Expreſs to the Council at *London* for a Reinforcement of Troops, which they all pretended to be very ready to oblige him in; but repreſented to the Duke of *Suffolk*, that it would be proper for them to remove out of the *Tower*, in order to make an Intereſt in the City, and haſten the Supplies their Friends ſtood in need of: It was obſerv'd alſo, that the *French* and other Foreign Ambaſſadors refus'd to apply themſelves to the Council, while

while they remain'd shut up in that Fortress. Whereupon the Duke of *Suffolk*, who is said to have been a Nobleman of no great Penetration, yielded to the Motion, and appointed the Earl of *Pembroke*'s House as a proper Place for them to assemble at. *A.D.* 1553 — *A.* 1 *Mary.*

The Council being met accordingly at the Earl of *Pembroke*'s on the 19th of *July*, sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, under Pretence of consulting them concerning raising Troops to reinforce the Army, but finding the City no less enclin'd to the Princess *Mary* than they were themselves, it was agreed by a great Majority, to proclaim her Queen that very Day, which was done accordingly in *Cheapside*, and *Te Deum* sung in the Cathedral of St. *Paul*'s. The Duke of *Suffolk* being summon'd afterwards to surrender the *Tower*, thought fit to deliver it up, and his Daughter *Jane* consented to divest herself of the Title of Queen, which she had born about ten Days. And the Earl of *Arundel* and the Lord *Paget*, were deputed to give the Princess *Mary* (who from this Day was generally stil'd Queen) an Account of this surprizing Turn in her Favour; which is generally ascrib'd to the Dread every Class of Men had of being subjected again to the Duke of *Northumberland*'s tyrannical Administration, which they had already experienc'd.

The Council being at Liberty, proclaim the Princess *Mary* Queen.

Jane Grey lays down the Title of Queen.

Northumberland finding the Nation almost unanimous in declaring for Queen *Mary*, had the Folly to imagine he might yet obtain her Favour; he no sooner receiv'd Advice therefore of what had been transacted at *London*, but he caus'd her to be proclaim'd at *Cambridge*, throwing up his Hat, and expressing his pretended Joy in a most extravagant man-

Northumberland proclaims Q. *Mary*.

*A.D.*1553 ner; but this avail'd him little, for his Forces being dispers'd, or gone over to the Queen, she order'd him and three of his Sons to be arrested the next Day by the Earl of *Arundel*, together with Sir *Andrew Dudley*, his Brother, Sir *John Gates*, *Henry Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer* and Dr. *Smith*, who were all committed to the *Tower* the 25th of *July*; and then it was that a Woman is said to have shook her Handkerchief at him stain'd with the Duke of *Somerset*'s Blood, reproaching him with having been the Author of that Nobleman's Death.

A. 1 *Mary.*

He is sent to the *Tower* with his Friends.

Jane Grey, her Husband, &c. sent to the *Tower*.

The Queen soon after order'd several other Persons of Distinction to be committed to the *Tower*, particularly the Lady *Jane Grey*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, Dr. *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, *Cheek* the late King's Preceptor, and *Guildford Dudley*, the Lady *Jane*'s Husband, with the Judges *Cholmely* and *Montague*; however, to give one signal Instance of her Clemency, three Days after she released the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Father of the Lady *Jane Grey*, who was look'd upon as an inoffensive Man, not capable of doing her much hurt.

The Queen comes to *London*. Releases the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Gardiner*, &c.

On the third of *August* the Queen arriv'd at *London* amidst the joyful Acclamations of the People, and going immediately to the *Tower*, she set at Liberty the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Bishops *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, the Dutchess of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Courtney*, eldest Son of the Marquis of *Exeter*. And now the Queen observing the whole Nation in a manner devouted to her Interest, imagin'd it would be no difficult Matter to bring about a Change of Religion; and for that end determin'd to send over for Cardinal *Pole* imme-

immediately, that by his Means the Nation might be reconcil'd to the Church *Rome*; ſome affirm that ſhe had thoughts of marrying the Cardinal, and even enquired of the Pope's Agent, whether ſuch a Marriage might not be diſpenſed with. Biſhop *Gardiner*, it ſeems, dreaded nothing more than *Pole*'s coming to *England*: He knew that the Cardinal had an Averſion for him, and that he ſhould loſe the Poſt of Prime Miniſter as ſoon as he arriv'd, and therefore did all that lay in his Power to keep *Pole* at a diſtance. He repreſented that her Majeſty would hazard the Loſs of every Thing, if ſhe proceeded too haſtily in the Buſineſs of Religion; that it was the ſafeſt and the moſt effectual Way to reſtore Popery, to proceed gradually; and if ſhe could bring back Religion to what it was at King *Henry*'s Death, it would be a great Point gain'd. But finding the Queen did not at all reliſh theſe dilatory Councils, he apply'd himſelf to the Emperor: He acquainted that Prince that if *Pole* came to *England*, his Zeal for the Church of *Rome* would be the Queen's Ruin, the *Engliſh* being not yet prepar'd to ſubmit to that See; and ſome ſuggeſt that *Gardiner* alſo then propoſed the Match between the Emperor's Son *Philip* and Queen *Mary*; certain it is, the Emperor approv'd of *Gardiner*'s Meaſures, and wrote to the Queen to be directed by him, and not run any Hazards. And from this time it is obſerv'd, ſhe was entirely govern'd by Biſhop *Gardiner*'s Councils, who was conſtituted Lord Chancellor not long after.

A.D. 1553

A. 1 *Mary.*

She propoſes ſending for Cardinal *Pole*.

Biſhop *Gardiner* prevents it.

The Emperor approves *Gardiner*'s Conduct, who becomes Prime Miniſter.

This Prelate was ſo cautious of alarming the People with Apprehenſions of the return of Popery, 'till he had got a Parliament elected

King *Edward* buried by *Cranmer*.

A.D. 1553 / A. 1 Mary.

lected to his Mind, that he even suffer'd Archbishop *Cranmer* to solemnzie King *Edward*'s Funeral according to the Rites that had been establish'd in the last Reign. The Queen contented herself with having Mass in her own Chapel on this Occasion, after the manner of the Church of *Rome*; and about the same time the Queen declar'd in Council, *That tho' she was fix'd in her own Religion, yet she would not compel others to be of it, but would leave that to the Motions of God's Spirit and the Labours of good Preachers.* The Papists however, were very confident that their Religion would be restor'd, and insulted the Protestants on all Occasions: Bishop *Bonner*'s Chaplain *Bourn*, preaching before him at St. *Paul*'s, enumerated the Sufferings of that Holy Confessor his Master in the late Reign, and proceeded to rail at that Administration for suffering good Catholicks to be persecuted. Which occasion'd a Tumult in the Church, the People reviled the Preacher for his Insolence; some threw Stones at him, and one Man threw a Dagger at *Bourn*, which miss'd him very narrowly, and stuck fast in the Pulpit; whereupon *Bradford* and *Rogers*, two celebrated Protestant Divines, interposed, and persuaded the People to be quiet, and afterwards convey'd *Bourn* safely out of the Church. The People had yet the Laws on their side, and could not bear to see their Religion trampled under Foot, as it began to be every where by the Bigots of Popery. They still flatter'd themselves that the Queen would observe her Promise, and make no Alteration in the establish'd Religion; but a Proclamation being publish'd soon after, wherein her Majesty declared, *She would force none of her Subjects in religious*

The Queen's Declaration in favour of Protestants

A Tumult at St. *Paul's*

religious Matters till publick Order ſhould be taken in it by common Conſent: The People began to diſcover that ſhe intended to eſtabliſh Popery again by the Legiſlative Authority; eſpecially as ſhe prohibited any to preach without her Licenſe in the ſame Proclamation, by which all the Proteſtant Preachers look'd upon themſelves to be ſilenc'd. A.D. 1553. *A.* 1 *Mary.* Proteſtant Preachers ſilenc'd.

And now the Duke of *Northumberland*, his eldeſt Son the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Northampton* were brought to their Trials; the Duke of *Norfolk* being conſtituted Lord High Steward *pro hac Vice*, tho' he lay himſelf under an Attainder of High-Treaſon, and his Pardon had not paſs'd the Seals. The Trial of the Duke of *Northumberland*, *&c.*

The Priſoners obſerving that the Marquis of *Wincheſter*, the Lord *Arundel*, and ſome others, who had been of the late King's Council, and concurr'd in all the Reſolutions and Orders that were made while *Jane Grey* had the Title of Queen were of the number of their Judges, inſiſted that theſe Gentlemen who had been invovl'd in the ſame Crime, ought not to ſit in Judgment upon them; but the Judges Opinions being demanded, they declar'd that ſince thoſe Lords were neither indicted or convicted of any Crime, this was no Legal Objection. Then the Priſoners obſerv'd, that they had tranſacted nothing but by order of Council, or the Authority of the Great Seal; and conſequently they could not be guilty of Treaſon. To which it was anſwer'd, That the Privy Council or the Great Seal of a Uſurper cou'd give them no Authority: Whereupon they found it was in vain to make any further Defence, and pleading guilty, threw themſelves upon the Queen's Mercy. The next Day

Sir

A.D. 1553 Sir *John Gates*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and ſome others were try'd and convicted; and all of them having receiv'd Sentence of Death, the Duke, Sir *Thomas Palmer* and Sir *John Gates* were beheaded the 22d of *Auguſt*, the reſt being repriev'd. The Duke at his Death declar'd himſelf a Papiſt, confeſs'd he had temporiz'd in the late Reigns againſt his Conſcience, and exhorted the People to embrace the Religion of their Anceſtors.

A. 1 *Mary.*
Northumberland and two more executed.

The Miniſters in *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* continuing to preach as uſual without taking out ſpecial Licenſes; Orders were ſent to the Biſhop of *Norwich* to ſilence them; whereupon the *Suffolk* Gentlemen, who imagin'd they had merited much of the Queen by being the firſt that eſpous'd her Cauſe, ſent one of their Number to Court, to put her Majeſty in mind of her Promiſe, *That ſhe would make no Alteration in Religion*; but they met with a ſevere Reprimand; being told, *That their Province was to obey, and not to govern*; and the Gentleman who was ſent uſing ſome freedom of Speech on this Occaſion, was ſet in the Pillory. Soon after two emminent Proteſtant Divines, *viz. Bradford* and *Rogers* Prebends of St. *Paul*'s were committed to Priſon on Pretence of having fomented that Tumult which they had quell'd when *Bourn* preach'd. All the Biſhops which had been depriv'd in King *Edward* VI's. Reign alſo were reſtor'd, particularly *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtal*, *Heath*, and *Day*; and *Coverdale* Biſhop *Exeter*, and *Hooper* Biſhop of *Glouceſter* were committed to Priſon for exerciſing their Functions without taking Licenſes to preach from *Gardiner*, whom the Queen had authoriz'd to grant them. The Popiſh Clergy pro-

The Uſage of the *Suffolk* Gentleman.

Bradford and *Rogers* impriſon'd

Popiſh Biſhops reſtor'd.

Two Biſhops impriſon'd.

proceeded to celebrate Masſ in the Churches, tho' the Laws which eſtabliſh'd the *Common-Prayer*, *&c.* as yet remain'd in force. But it is look'd upon as a remarkable piece of Ingratitude in this Queen, that ſhe proſecuted Judge *Hales*, and cauſed him to be fin'd and impriſon'd, only for declaring in his Charge in the Circuit, That People ought to obey the Laws of King *Edward* till they were repeal'd; tho' this was the only Judge that refus'd to ſign the Settlement which excluded her from the Crown. This poor Gentleman was ſent from one Priſon to another, and ſo harraſs'd and terrified, that he became diſtracted, and actually ſtabb'd himſelf with a Pen-knife in Priſon, after which being releas'd he drown'd himſelf *.

A.D. 1553

A. 1 *Mary*

The Queen's Ingratitude to Judge *Hales*.

From this hard Uſage of the Proteſtants at the beginning of her Reign; it was conjectur'd that the Queen would proceed to greater Severities, as ſoon as ſhe found her Government eſtabliſh'd; inſomuch, that Dr. *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, againſt whom the Queen had a particular Spleen, on account of his divorcing her Mother, was adviſed to leave the Kingdom, and avoid the Storm that threatned him; to which he anſwer'd, *That he could not diſſuade others from flying; but it was unbecoming a Man of his Station, who was ſo deeply concern'd in the Changes that had been made.* On the Contrary, he drew up a Defence of the whole Doctrine and Service eſtabliſh'd in the late Reign, declaring

Cranmer offers to defend the Alterations made in Religion in the laſt Reign.

* *The Biſhops had prevail'd on Judge* Hales *to declare himſelf a Papiſt, which was the Occaſion of his Diſorder.* Strype's Memoirs, Vol. 3. *pag.* 173.

*A.D.*1553 *A.* 1 *Mary.*

ring himſelf ready to prove the Errors of the Maſs, for which he was ſummon'd before the *Star-Chamber* and reprimanded, but diſmiſs'd without any further Proſecution at that time; but being brought before the Council two or three Days after, and accuſed of High-Treaſon, and publiſhing ſeditious Libels; he was committed to the *Tower* with Biſhop *Latimer*, and ſeveral other Proteſtant Divines, his Friend *Peter Martyr*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Oxford*, with *John a Laſco*, and the reſt of the Foreign Refugees, being order'd to quit the Kingdom, when it is ſaid a great many *Engliſh* Proteſtants thought fit to go beyond Sea under Foreign Names; but this being diſcover'd by the Government, an Order was iſſued, that none ſhould be ſuffer'd to embark at any Port without a Paſſport from the Ambaſſador of the Nation to which he was Subject.

Cranmer, Latimer, &c. ſent to the *Tower*.

Several Proteſtants fly beyond Sea.

The Coronation.

And now every thing being ready for the Coronation, the Queen on the laſt of *September* rode in an open Chariot from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, attended by the Nobility and great Officers of State on Horſe-back as uſual; the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, King *Henry* IV's. Wife, follow'd the Queen in another open Chariot, the reſt of the Ladies who attended the Coronation being on Horſe-back. The next Day the Queen was crown'd in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* by Biſhop *Gardiner*, aſſiſted by ten other Biſhops, who obſerv'd all thoſe Rites and Ceremonies on this Occaſion as were in uſe before Popery was aboliſh'd. A Pardon was publiſh'd at the ſame time, out of which were excepted the Proteſtants in Cuſtody; but the moſt popular Act was a Declaration

A Pardon publiſh'd.

that

that the Queen discharged all her Subjects of the Tenths, Fifteenths and Subsidy that had been granted to the Crown by the last Parliament; and promised to pay both her Father's and her Brother's Debts. About the same time the Earl of *Arundel*, in Consideration of his Services, was made Lord Steward of the Household, and *Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex*, who had been her General, receiv'd a Patent on the 2d of *October* to sit cover'd in the Queen's Presence. *A.D* 1553. *A.* 1 *Mary*. The Taxes remitted. Earl of *Sussex* his Privilege.

Some little time after the Coronation, the Archbishop of *York* was sent to the *Tower* on a general Charge of Disaffection to the Government: For now the Court having procur'd a Parliament to be elected, which seemed ready to concur with them in every Alteration they intended to make in religious Matters, kept no Measures with the Protestants. In some Places, says my Author, Force was us'd, in others large Bribes and larger Promises were made, and in others the returning Officers return'd those who had the Minority; and at last, if any Protestants did get into the House, few of them were suffer'd to sit. In short, there was no Artifice, ancient or modern, which the Crafty *Gardiner* did not make use of to procure a House of Commons to his Mind; nor did the Lords appear less obsequious than the Commons; the Protestant Bishops being many of them in Prison, and several others chusing to be absent when the Parliament met on the fifth * of Archbishop of *York* imprison'd. Elections influenced by the Court. *Rapin* Mistaken.

* *Both* Burnet *and* Rapin, *who follows him, are mistaken in the Time the Parliament met, as appears by the Statute Book.*

*A.D.*1553 of *October*, only two Proteſtant Biſhops, *viz.* Dr. *Taylor* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Dr. *Harley* Biſhop of *Hereford*, had the Courage to take their Seats in the Houſe of Lords, and theſe were driven from thence the firſt Day of the Seſſion, becauſe they refus'd to Kneel at the Celebration of the Maſs. So ſuddenly did that illuſtrious Body the Houſe of Peers run counter to the Principles they had profeſs'd for ſeveral Years, or rather, ſo ſhamefully did they diſguiſe their Sentiments, either in this or the preceding Reign.

A. 1 *Mary.*

Parliament meets. Proteſtant Biſhops excluded.

Treaſons reduc'd to thoſe in the 25th *Ed.*3.

An Act paſs'd in this Seſſion, declaring that no Offence ſhould be deem'd High-Treaſon which was not ſo by the 25th *Edw.* III. nor any Crime be adjudg'd Felony or a Præmunire, but what was ſo before the Reign of *Henry* VIII. But it was provided, that no Perſons then in Priſon for Treaſon, or Miſpriſſion of Treaſon, ſhould have the Benefit of that Act. And by two other Acts, the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Devon* her Son, were reſtor'd to Blood. Which was all the Buſineſs tranſacted in this Seſſion, the Parliament being on the 21ſt of *October* prorogu'd to the 24th.

Rapin miſrecites this Act.

The Queen declar'd legitimate.

By an Act of the following Seſſions, which commenc'd the 24th of *October*, the Marriage of King *Henry* VIII. with the Queen's Mother *Katherine* of *Spain* was declar'd Lawful, and the Acts which made the Queen illegitimate were repeal'd. The Preamble of this Act recites, that ſome malicious Perſons had poſſeſs'd the late King *Henry* with Scruples, concerning the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage, and by corrupt means obtain'd the Seals of ſome Foreign Univerſities to condemn it, and thereupon Archbiſhop *Cranmer* had

had unjuſtly and wickedly pronounc'd Sentence of Divorce, without hearing what the Queen or her Advocates had to offer againſt it, and this had brought down many heavy Judgments on the Nation, which induc'd the Parliament to paſs this Act of Repeal. *A.D.*1453 *A.* 1 *Mary.*

By another Act all the Laws relating to Religion in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. were repeal'd, and all things of this Nature reduc'd to the State they were in at the end of the Reign of *Henry* VIII. Statutes relating to Religion repeal'd.

An Act alſo paſs'd prohibiting the diſturbing any Prieſt or Eccleſiaſtick in preaching, celebrating the Maſs, or performing other Divine Offices; as alſo the breaking down or defacing any Altar or Crucifix, on pain of three Months Impriſonment. Penalty of diſturbing Maſs or breaking Images.

It was alſo Enacted, that if any Perſons to the Number of twelve, ſhould aſſemble to procure any Alteration in the Laws, either in relation to Religion or Government, or to lay open Encloſures, or for any other riotous Purpoſe, and did not diſperſe within an Hour after Proclamation made, they ſhould be adjudg'd guilty of Felony. Riotous Aſſemblies

Another Act paſs'd, declaring that all Writings ſhould be good which were dated in the Reign of *Jane Grey*, notwithſtanding ſhe was a Uſurper. Writings dated in Q. *Jane*'s Reign.

A Bill for granting the Queen the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage for Life, having paſs'd through the Houſe of Commons, was ſent up to the Lords, who added two Amendments, with which the Commons concurr'd; tho' it be a Rule at this Day, that the Peers cannot alter a Money Bill. Tonnage and Poundage granted the Queen for Life.

During this Seſſion of Parliament, *viz.* on the 3d of *November*, the Lady *Jane Grey*, with *Jane Grey*, the Archbiſhop of

*A.D.*1553 with *Guildford Dudley* her Husband, *Dudley* his Brother, and Dr. *Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, were brought to their Trials, having been indicted of High-Treason (in endeavouring to place the Lady *Jane Grey* upon the Throne) and the Fact being too notorious to be denied, they all confess'd themselves guilty, and were condemn'd to die as Traytors; however, the Archbishop was pardon'd the Treason, but continu'd in Prison, it being determin'd to burn him for an Heretick.

A. 1 *Mary.* *Canterbury &c.* condemn'd for High-Treason.

The Queen's sending for Cardinal *Pole*, in order to reconcile the Nation to *Rome*, has been already touch'd upon, as well as the Artifices made use of by the Emperor and Bishop *Gardiner* to prevent his coming over; particularly their proposing a Match between *Philip* the Emperor's Son and Queen *Mary*. This Treaty was now in some Forwardness, which being discover'd by the Parliament, they appear'd exceedingly alarm'd, and address'd her Majesty that she would not marry a Foreign Prince. To which as she could not at present give any satisfactory Answer, she chose to dissolve the Parliament, and thereby prevented any further Applications to her on that Head.

Treaty of Marriage between the Queen and *Philip* goes on. The Parliament address the Queen not to marry a Foreigner, and are dissolv'd.

Hereupon Bishop *Gardiner* represented to the Emperor, that unless he furnish'd the Court of *England*, with a considerable Sum of Money, to be dispers'd amongst the leading Men, and granted such Conditions in the Treaty, as might make the Match appear advantageous to the *English*, it would be impossible to bring it to a happy Conclusion.

The Emperor believing that whatever Conditions he submitted to for the present, he

he ſhould upon the Marriage of his Son with the Queen, be able to get them alter'd to his Satisfaction, and that *England* would in the end become united to his other Dominions, ſupplied *Gardiner* with the Sum of twelve hundred thouſand Crowns, to be diſtributed as he ſaw fit, and left the Articles of the Treaty to be modell'd by that Prelate. *A.D.* 1553. 1 & 2 *Mary.* The Emperor tranſmits 1200000 Crowns to *England.*

But before I proceed to give a further Account of this Negotiation, it may be proper to obſerve the Tranſactions of the Convocation. This Body ſat as uſual, at the ſame time the Parliament was aſſembled, and there being ſcarce any Proteſtant Biſhops in the Upper-Houſe, and but very few of that Perſuaſion in the Lower-Houſe, condemn'd the Book of Common-Prayer, and appear'd ready to reverſe every thing that had been eſtabliſh'd in relation to Religion in the late Reign; ſix Members of the Lower-Houſe only, had the Courage to defend the Conſtitution of the Church, as it was eſtabliſh'd in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. and offer'd to diſpute with the Advocates of Popery, on the Subject of Tranſubſtantiation, and three of them actually engag'd in a Diſpute for three Days with their Adverſaries, but being born down with Noiſe and Tumult, they found it to very little Purpoſe. The Papiſts triumph'd, and gave out that the Proteſtants were confounded, and even ſilenc'd, by the Force of the Arguments brought againſt them. But whoever peruſes the Account that is given of this Diſputation in *Fox* or *Burnet*, will find the Arguments of the Proteſtants on this Occaſion unanſwerable.

The Convocation Popiſhly affected.

A Diſpute concerning Tranſubſtantiation.

The

*A.D.*1554

2 & 3 *Mary.*

The Emperor's Ambaſſadors arriv'd in *England* the 2d of *January*, to ſettle the Articles of Marriage, which were concluded on the 12th of the ſame Month.

Marriage Articles between the Queen and Prince *Philip.*

By theſe Articles it was ſtipulated, that during the Marriage, *Philip* and *Mary* ſhould be ſtil'd King and Queen of *England*, *&c.* but that the Queen alone ſhould have the Diſpoſal of all Revenues, Benefices, Offices, and Employments of the Kingdom, and that theſe ſhould be conferr'd only on the Subjects of *England.*

That the Queen ſhould bear her Huſband's Titles, and have a Jointure of ſixty thouſand Pounds *per Ann.*

That the Children of this Marriage ſhould inherit their Mother's Dominions.

And as to the Father's it was agreed, that the Archduke *Charles* (*Philip*'s Son by his former Wife) ſhould ſucceed him in the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the reſt of his *Italian* Territories.

But if the Archduke *Charles* died without Iſſue, the eldeſt Child of *Philip* and *Mary* ſhould ſucceed to the ſaid Dominions.

That if the Archduke liv'd and had Children, they ſhould be excluded from inheriting *Burgundy* and the *Low-Countries*, which ſhould be inherited by the Sons or Daughters of this Marriage.

That the younger Sons of *Philip* and *Mary* ſhould have Eſtates and Portions allotted them in *England.*

That in Caſe there ſhould only be Female Iſſue of this Marriage, the eldeſt ſhould inherit *Burgundy* and the *Low-Countries.*

That

That if the Archduke *Charles* died without Iſſue, the eldeſt Son, and in default of Sons, the eldeſt Daughter of this Marriage ſhould ſucceed to all the Dominions of *Spain*. A.D.1554 2 & 3 Mary.

But it was provided, that every Country ſhould remain poſſeſs'd of its peculiar Laws and Liberties under whoſe Dominion ſoever it ſhould happen to fall.

A Clauſe alſo was added to the Treaty, which oblig'd *Philip* before the Conſummation of the Marriage to ſwear, that he would retain no Servant in *England*, who was not the Queen's Subject, or bring any Foreigner into *England* to give the Natives any Uneaſineſs.

That he would make no Alteration in the Laws or Cuſtoms of *England*.

That he would not take the Queen out of *England*, unleſs ſhe deſir'd it, or any Children he ſhould have by her, without the Conſent of the Nobility.

That if the Queen died firſt, he would make no Claim to the Crown of *England*, but leave it to the next Heir.

That he would diſpoſe of no Lands belonging to the Crown, or carry any Jewels or things of Value out of the Kingdom.

That *England* ſhould never be engag'd in any War with *France* by Virtue of this Marriage, but the Alliance between *England* and *France* ſhould remain in Force; and that he would give no Occaſion for a Rupture between *France* and *England*.

From hence it appears, that the *Spaniards* granted the *Engliſh* all that they could aſk; but it was demanded by a Member of the Commons, when this Treaty became the Subject of Debate in that Houſe, What Security Remarks on this Treaty.

*A.D.*1554 2 & 3 *Mary.*

was there given for the Performance of theſe Articles? The *Spaniards*, he obſerv'd, would never have condeſcended to grant them, if they had not known it would have been in the King and Queen's Power, after the Marriage, to make what Alterations they thought fit in the Treaty. And it was indeed next to a Miracle, that *England* did not become a Province of *Spain* by this Match; if the Archduke *Charles* had died, and the Queen had had a Son, it could not have been otherwiſe, for the greater Kingdom always draws the leſſer after it, whenever they happen to be united, either by Force or Compact. And when *Philip* found he ſhould have no Iſſue by the Queen, it is ſaid, he had form'd a Plan for uniting their Dominions into one Empire, in which he was diſappointed only by the Queen's Death, that happen'd ſooner than he expected; ſo that whatever Applauſe hath been given to Biſhop *Gardiner* for obtaining ſuch advantageous Conditions, it muſt be confeſs'd, he put the Liberties of his Country to the utmoſt Hazard when he concluded this Match; and had not his Zeal been greater for Popiſh Superſtition than for the Welfare of his Country, he would never have promoted or countenanc'd it; but he knew that Popery could not be ſupported in this Kingdom without the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, and that was the real Motive which prevail'd on him to promote the Match.

We find that notwithſtanding it was agreed that *England* ſhould not be engag'd in a War on Account of *Spain*, that Article was broke thro', the Nation was engag'd in a War with *France*, in which we loſt *Calais*; and every other Article might have been cancell'd in like

like manner, if *Philip* had insisted on it. There is no binding the Hands of a Foreign Prince, if he is once permitted to possess himself of the Regal Power, he will easily find Means, by Force or Bribes, to break every Condition in the Settlement he don't like. Those therefore, who would be thought to merit so much of their Country, by tying the Hands of a Prince of their own advancing, do in effect, only betray the deluded People into their own Ruin. These Gentlemen acknowledge it extremely dangerous to introduce a Foreign Prince, without limiting his Power; but they are not so ingenious to acknowledge, that a Cobweb is not easier broke through than such Restrictions; nay, we frequently find those Men the readiest to dispense with such Obligations who first propos'd them, which shews they were in the Secret, and only advis'd them by way of Stratagem, to draw the People into the Snare, and establish their Idol. This was evidently the Case of the *Spanish* Match, and one would have thought it should have render'd succeeding Generations more cautious, if we had not seen the same Game plaid over again by their unthinking Posterity. But to proceed. *A.D.* 1554 2 & 3 *Mary.*

The Queen about the same time gave the Merchants of the *Stillyard*, a License to carry on their Trade as formerly, in Consideration of their being *Germans*, to the Ruin of the Merchants of *England*; which is a further Evidence that *German* and *Spanish* Councils now prevail'd, whatever had been stipulated to prevent their Influence; even Acts of Parliament were dispens'd with in their Favour. The Merchants of the *Stillyard* restor'd.

*A.D.*1554

1 & 3 Mary.

A general Discontent appears.

But this was a Trifle in regard of the ill Effects that were expected to be the Consequence of the *Spaniſh* Match; the whole Nation, Papiſts as well as Proteſtants, who were not blinded by Bribes or Preferments, look'd upon it that they ſhould become a Province of *Spain*, or at leaſt be govern'd by the ſame Arbitrary Councils the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were, which occaſion'd Conſpiracies in almoſt every County, to prevent the Marriage taking Effect, and as a great Majority of the Nation was ready to riſe in Arms to prevent their coming under a Foreign Yoke, there was very little Caution us'd to conceal their Intentions, which gave the Government an Opportunity of diſcovering and diſperſing the Malecontents, before they could draw their Forces together. Had their Numbers been leſs, and their Plot better concerted, they would have been much more formidable; but we find Sir *Peter Carew*, who was to have been at the Head of the Malecontents in the *Weſt*, in danger of being taken up, and forc'd to fly to *France* before he had aſſembled any of his Friends; and this oblig'd Sir *Tho. Wyat*, who was pitch'd upon to be their General in *Kent*, to have recourſe to Arms, before his Confederates in other Counties were ready to ſecond him; while the Duke of *Suffolk*, on whom they principally relied for raiſing the midland Counties, was forc'd to abſcond, and could contribute nothing towards the intended Inſurrection.

Wyat's Rebellion.

Sir *Thomas Wyat*, in theſe diſadvantageous Circumſtances, was the only Chief that took the Field. He march'd firſt to *Maidſtone*, and from thence to *Rocheſter-Bridge*, propoſing to maintain that Paſs till he was reinforc'd

forc'd by his Friends; but the Duke of *Norfolk* being ſent againſt him with two hundred Horſe, and ſix hundred of the Train-Bands from *London*, and the Sheriff of *Kent* at the ſame time falling upon a Party that were going to join *Wyat*, under the Command of *Knevet*, and defeating them, he began to look upon the Enterprize as deſperate, till ſome of his Men, pretending to deſert over to the Duke of *Norfolk*, found means to perſuade the Citizens to join the Malecontents, which oblig'd the Duke to retire with his Horſe. This Accident raiſing *Wyat*'s Reputation, his Forces ſoon encreas'd to ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, with whom he determin'd to march directly to *London*, where he knew he had abundance of Friends. A.D. 1554 2 & 3 Mary. Some Citizens deſert to *Wyat*. He marches to *London*.

Wyat being advanc'd as far as *Deptford*, within three Miles of the City, the Queen ſent to him to know his Demands, which, it ſeems, were no leſs than that ſhe ſhould put herſelf and the *Tower* into his Hands. Whereupon the Queen went into the City, and having aſſembled the Magiſtrates and principal Citizens, ſhe made a Speech, wherein ſhe told them, there was no manner of Reaſon for their being under any Apprehenſions from her Treaty with *Philip*, ſhe had enter'd into it by the Advice of her Council, and only for the Advantage of her People; but if they did not eſteem it ſo, ſhe was very well content to remain a Virgin, and ſhould be entirely directed by their Councils. By theſe and other Artifices, ſhe perſuaded the Governing part of the City to remain firm to her Intereſts at this critical Juncture. At the ſame time ſhe caus'd the Bridge to be fortified, and plac'd ſuch Troops there, and at the *Tower*, as The Queen fortifies the City againſt him.

A.D. 1554 — 2 & 3 Mary.

as ſhe could confide in; without which Precautions the City had infallibly fallen into *Wyat*'s Hands, the Multitude being generally favourable to his Cauſe.

Wyat in the mean time continu'd his March to the *Borough* of *Southwark*, and finding the Bridge barricaded up, would have paſs'd his Men over the *Thames* in Boats, but they were all on the other ſide. Whereupon he continu'd his March ten Miles up the River to *Kingſton-Bridge*, which having been broken down, he repair'd, from thence he advanc'd towards *Weſtminſter*, where he arriv'd on the 5th of *February* in the Morning, without being attack'd by the Queen's Troops; but in this laſt Day's March, either for want of Conduct, or depending too much on being join'd by the Citizens, he ſuffer'd his Men to divide into ſeveral Bodies, on their approaching the City of *Weſtminſter*, which were cut off or diſpers'd one after another by the Queen's Troops; while he himſelf advancing by *Charing-Croſs* to *Ludgate*, with about five hundred Men, and finding the Gate ſhut, was reduc'd to the utmoſt Deſpair, and ſurrender'd to one of the Heralds, without making the leaſt Effort to break through his Enemies. Whereupon he was ſet up behind an Officer, and carried Priſoner to the Queen's Palace at *Weſtminſter*, to the infinite Joy of the Court, who but a few Hours before had given all over for loſt; and indeed, had the Queen left the Town, or had the Malecontents had a better General, Things would probably have taken a different turn, whereas this unſucceſsful Attempt contributed to eſtabliſh the Queen's Government; ſhe met with no Oppoſition to any of her Schemes

He paſſes the River at *Kingſton-Bridge*. Enters the City of *Weſtminſter*.

Is made Priſoner.

after-

afterwards, but all the World ſubmitted to her without reſerve. A.D. 1554

2 & 3 Mary

The Duke of *Suffolk* having rais'd ſcarce any Troops, upon Advice of *Wyat*'s Defeat, endeavour'd to conceal himſelf, but was betray'd by one of his Dependants, and brought Priſoner to the *Tower* on the 11th of *February*. His being concern'd in this Conſpiracy haſten'd the Death of the Lady *Jane Grey* his Daughter, and her Huſband *Dudley*, it being preſum'd, that the Duke's principal Deſign was to reſtore his Daughter. On the 12th of *February* therefore, the Day after the Duke was committed to the *Tower*, *Guildford Dudley* and his Wife *Jane*, were order'd to be executed, having already receiv'd Sentence of Death, for endeavouring to uſurp the Throne, and exclude the Queen. This young Nobleman had obtain'd Leave to ſee his Wife before he died; but ſhe declin'd the Interview, imagining it muſt prove a great Diſturbance to them both, however, ſhe ſaw him through a Window, as he went out of the *Tower* to his Execution, and again when his Body was brought back, and a few Minutes after, was led herſelf to a Scaffold erected within the *Tower*; for ſhould they have ſuffer'd this innocent beautiful young Lady, the Darling of the People, to be put to Death in the Preſence of the Multitude, the Spectacle would probably have been ſo moving, as to have occaſion'd Reflections not very advantageous to the Queen and Miniſtry. Young as this Lady was, 'tis ſaid, ſhe expreſs'd no Fear of Death, but appear'd leſs concern'd than any of the Spectators; ſhe acknowledg'd ſhe had done amiſs in conſenting to accept the Crown; but ſaid ſhe never aſpir'd

The Duke of *Suffolk* apprehended.

Jane Grey and her Huſband executed.

*A.D.*1554 2 & 3 *Mary.*

aſpir'd to it, and conſidering her Youth and Ignorance, hop'd that God and Poſterity would ſhew her Favour; and then recommending herſelf to Heaven, ſhe ſubmitted to the Fatal Stroke.

The Character given of this Lady exceeds all Belief; ſhe was we are inform'd an exquiſite Beauty, and her Genius equally ſurprizing, at ſixteen Years of Age Miſtreſs of the learned and modern Languages, and well vers'd in Philoſophy, but much better in the Study of Divine Things; the late King *Edward*, who was of the ſame Age, was charm'd with her Converſation, and notwithſtanding the Proficiency he had made, was eſteem'd inferior to her in Learning; and to ſum up all, ſhe was neither exalted on her being advanc'd to a Throne, nor dejected when ſhe loſt it, and lay under the Sentence of Death.

The Duke of *Suffolk* condemn'd and executed.

The Duke of *Suffolk* her Father was try'd and condemn'd as an Accomplice in *Wyat*'s Inſurrection on the 17th of *February*, and executed the 21ſt of the ſame Month; *Wyat* alſo was condemn'd, but repriev'd for two Months in order to find out the Depth of the Conſpiracy; ſome ſay he was offer'd his Life, if he could charge the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Devon* with the Plot, and they were both of them committed to the *Tower* upon ſome Evidence he gave againſt them, but he afterwards retracted it; nor was it at all likely that the Princeſs ſhould be in a Plot to advance the Lady *Jane* to the Throne, and thereby exclude herſelf as well as her Siſter; however, this ſerv'd as a Pretence to impriſon the Princeſs *Elizabeth* for a great while. Mr. *Rapin* relates, that *She was very hardly dealt with in the* Tower, and yet

Wyat accuſes the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, but retracts it.

yet in the next Breath assures us, *She was remov'd from thence, because she was too well used by the Lieutenant*, so very consistant is that Gentleman with himself in this and a multitude of other Instances. A.D 1554 A. 1 Mary.

The Malecontents were no sooner defeated but a pair of Gallows was erected in every great Street and publick Place about *London*, on which fifty-eight of these unfortunate People being hang'd, six hundred more were sent to *Westminster* with Halters about their Necks to beg for Mercy, which the Queen was pleas'd to grant them. Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, who was try'd for the same Conspiracy, had the good Fortune to be acquitted by the Jury, notwithstanding the Court threatned them very severely; and some relate that they were fin'd for bringing in a Verdict against the Opinion of the Judges. A Gallows erected in every great Street. Fifty-eight executed.

And now the Queen having perfectly subdu'd her Enemies, proceeded with a high Hand to the Establishment of Popery. And by Virtue of that Supremacy, which she soon after renounc'd, granted a Commission for the Deprivation of the married Clergy; and indeed of all that were suspected to be inclin'd to the Reformation; whereupon the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishops of St. *David's Chester*, *Bristol*, *Lincoln*, *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, lost their Bishopricks without any Process commenc'd against them; *Story* Bishop of *Chichester*, thought fit to renounce his Wife, and do Penance, but afterwards fled beyond Sea; and *Barlow* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* resign'd his Bishoprick and fled; whereupon the Queen had an Opportunity of making sixteen new Bishops according to her The Protestant Bishops depriv'd.

*A D.*1554 own Heart. *Parker* relates, that there were not leſs than twelve thouſand* Clergymen that loſt their Preferments, out of ſixteen thouſand there were then in the Nation by Virtue of this extraordinary Commiſſion in a ſummary way, many of them upon no other Evidence than common Fame, and ſome of them without being heard, which gave the Queen an Opportunity of filling up moſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Preferments with her own Creatures. The Maſs alſo was reſtor'd, and Divine Service every where perform'd as it had been in the latter end of the Reign of *Hen.* VIII.

A. 1 *Mary*

Twelve-thouſand Clergy-men loſe their Pre-ferments.

The Po-piſh Ser-vice re-ſtor'd.

The Par-liament meets.

The Parliament meeting on the 2d of *April*, appear'd entirely devoted to the Court; *Gardiner* had ſo well apply'd the Money he receiv'd of the Emperor among the Members, that he was ſure to meet with no Oppoſition from that Quarter. By the firſt Act that paſſed, it was declar'd that the Regal Power was veſted in the Queen in the ſame manner as it was in the Kings her Predeceſſors; for this being the firſt Queen Regnant that had ſet upon the Throne of *England* ſince the Conqueſt, it was made a Queſtion by ſome, as the Preamble recites, whether the Queen ſhould have the ſame Honours, Prerogatives and Power as the Kings her Anceſtors had; the Name of *King* only being mention'd in the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. Mr. *Rapin*, and ſome other Hiſtorians, pretend there was ſome-

An Act declaring the Regal Powers veſted in the Queen.

* *This probably is a Miſtake, there not being ſo many Benefices in the Kingdom: I'm apt to think it ſhould have been* Two-thouſand.

ſomething very myſterious in this Matter; but whoever reads the Preamble of the Act will find ſufficient reaſon given there for the paſſing of it without having recourſe to ſecret Hiſtory. *A.D.* 1554. 2 & 3 *Mary*.

By another Act of this Parliament the Treaty of Marriage between the Queen and the Prince of *Spain* is confirm'd, with ſome Explanations of that Treaty. The Treaty of Marriage confirm'd.

A third Act was made for reſtoring the Biſhoprick of *Durham* to its former State, and repealing two Acts of the laſt Reign for its Diſſolution. Biſhoprick of *Durham* reſtor'd.

The Attainders of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the reſt of the Malecontents concern'd in *Wyat*'s Rebellion alſo were confirm'd; and on the Fifth of *May* the Parliament was diſſolv'd. *Rapin* miſtakes, when he affirms it was prorogu'd. Attainders of *Wyat* and his Accomplies confirm'd.

The Convocation being aſſembled at the ſame time the Parliament ſat, ſent down a Committee of their Members to *Oxford* to diſpute with ſome of the Principal Reformers before that Univerſity, *viz.* with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and the Biſhops *Ridley* and *Latimer*, who were taken out of Priſon and carried to *Oxford* to be made the Subject of another Trumph. For after all, the ſevenerable Fathers were rather baited than ſuffer'd to diſpute; there was ſuch Hiſſing, Noiſe and Tumult as made the Aſſembly reſemble a Bear Garden more than any thing elſe. This Diſpute, as it was call'd, continu'd three Days, *viz.* the 16, 17 and 18th of *April*. Biſhop *Burnet* has given us the Subſtance of it in his Hiſtory of the Reformation. As this was treacherouſly deſign'd to make theſe Reverend Men declare their Principles *Cranmer*, *&c.* diſpute with a Committee of the Convocation at *Oxford*. The Proteſtants are run down with Noiſe and Clamour.

*A.D.*1554 in the Face of the World, the Convocation immediately afterwards ſummon'd them to appear and renounce the Errors they had maintained, and upon their Refuſal condemn'd them all as obſtinate Hereticks. But they appeal'd from this Sentence to God's Tribunal, and expreſs'd a great deal of Joy, that they ſhould have an Opportunity of glorifying God by laying down their Lives in ſuch a Cauſe.

2 & 3 *Mary*

They are condemn'd as Hereticks for the Arguments they us'd in this Diſpute.

All Things being now ready for the Reception of the Prince of *Spain*, he landed at *Southampton* on the 20th of *July*: He drew his Sword on his coming on Shore, and carried it naked ſome time, on which the *Engliſh* paſs'd various Conjectures; and when the Magiſtrates of *Southampton* preſented him the Keys of their Gates, he return'd them again without uttering one Word, and in all his Actions there appear'd abundance of Haughtineſs and affected *Spaniſh* Gravity. Being arriv'd at *Wincheſter*, he was met there by the Queen, and the Marriage ſolemniz'd by *Gardiner*, Biſhop of the Place, on the 27th of *July*, after which they were proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Naples*, *Jeruſalem*, *&c.* the Emperor reſigning the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Jeruſalem* to his Son by his Ambaſſador juſt before the Solemnity, that he might appear with the greater Splendour. *Philip* was now in the 27th Year of his Age, and the Queen in her thirty-eighth. Soon after the Marriage the Court remov'd to *Windſor*, where *Philip* was inſtall'd Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter. And on the 12th of *Auguſt* the King and Queen made a kind of Triumphant Entry into the City of *London*, little inferiou

Philip's Arrival in *England*.

The Marriage ſolemniz'd.

Mary 2. *Philip* 1. Their Titles.

They make a Triumphant Entry into *London*.

inferior to the Splendour of a Coronation, which the old Duke of *Norfolk* juſt liv'd to ſee, but died in the beginning of the next Month. *A.D.* 1554. *Mary* 2. *Philip* 1.

Duke of *Norfolk* dies.

Philip did ſome popular Things at his Arrival at *London*, ſuch as the procuring the Liberty of abundance of Priſoners, among whom were the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Earl of *Devonſhire*. He interceded alſo in the Behalf of the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, whom *Gardiner* had determin'd to deſtroy, if we may Credit our Hiſtorians: And to this Prince, 'tis ſaid, ſhe was indebted for her Life; but I muſt confeſs, there does not appear to me ſufficient Foundation to charge either the Queen or *Gardiner* with a form'd Deſign againſt her Life, whatever they might reſolve on in regard to her Liberty.

Philip ſets ſeveral State Priſoners at Liberty.

He intercedes for the Princeſs *Eliz.*

A new Parliament being aſſembled on the 11th of *November*, which was the third that had been call'd in this Reign, appear'd very ready to enter into all the Meaſures of the Court, and even prevented the Miniſters Demands in ſome Inſtances; for *Philip* had brought over ſuch an immenſe Treaſure, as entirely reconcil'd the Senate to him, notwithſtanding the haughty *Spaniſh* Airs he gave himſelf.

The Parliament meets.

Penſioners to *Philip.*

Cardinal *Pole*, the Pope's Legate, having been deputed by the Pope to reconcile the People of *England* to the See of *Rome*, was now arriv'd in *Flanders*, whereupon an Act was paſs'd at the beginning of this Parliament to reverſe his Attainder, and the Lords *Paget* and *Haſtings* were ſent thither to attend him to *England*. Soon after his Arrival, which was on the 24th of *November*, the Queen came to the Houſe of Peers attended by

Pole's Attainder reverſ'd.

He comes to *England*

*A.D.*1554 *Mary* 2. *Philip* 1.

by the Cardinal; and the Commons being sent for up, *Pole* acquainted both Houses that he was sent over to invite them to return to the Sheepfold of Christ's Church, and exhorted them to comply with the happy Offer. At which the Queen was so over-joy'd, that she imagin'd herself quick with Child, and that she felt the Infant leap in her Womb at that instant; and the thing was carried so far, that *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, was order'd by the Council to cause *Te Deum* to be Sung in his Cathedral on the Occasion, tho' it appear'd at length that the Queen was deceiv'd as to her Pregnancy. But to proceed, both Houses presented a Petition to the King and Queen on the 29th of *November*, desiring they would intercede with the Legate that the Kingdom might be reconcil'd to the Catholick Church, and an end put to the Schism which had so long disunited them from it, promising that they would repeal all such Acts as had been made to the Prejudice of the See of *Rome*.

Reconciles the Nation to the See of *Rome*.

The Queen imagines herself Pregnant

The Legate hereupon came to the House of Peers, and the Commons attended, he granted them a Solemn Absolution, which the two Houses receiv'd upon their Knees with the greatest Thankfulness; after which *Te Deum* was sung in the Churches, and the Day concluded with ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and other Demonstrations of Joy. Soon after a Bill was brought in for repealing all Acts that had been made to the Prejudice of the Pope's Authority; wherein it was however provided that all Bishopricks, Cathedral Churches and Colleges should remain in the State they were, That Martiages that were not contrary to the Laws of God should be deem'd

An Act for restoring the Pope's Authority.

deem'd valid, That Collations to Benefices during the Schism should be confirm'd, That the Proceedings of the Courts of Justice should not be call'd in Question; and lastly, that the Alienation of the Lands and Goods of the Church should be ratified, nor should the Possessors of them be liable to any Censures or Prosecutions from the Ecclesiastical Courts. *A.D.* 1554. 2&3 *Mary.* 1&2 *Philip*

The Abbey Lands however confirm'd to those who possessed them. Attended with a Curse.

These Provisions the Legate confirm'd; but requir'd those who remain'd in Possession of the Lands or Goods of the Church to remember the Judgments of God, which might lie heavy upon them, and desir'd they would at least take care to see the Cures well supply'd where they were possessed of any Impropriations. But notwithstanding the Confirmation of the Alienations that had been made by the Pope's Legate, the Parliament thought fit to enact further, That all Suits concerning such Church Lands should be try'd in the Civil Courts, and whoever pretended to disturb the Possessors under Pretence of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction should Inrur a Præmunire.

A *Præmunire* to disturb any who were possessed of Church Lands.

It was also enacted, That the Qeen's Title of *Supreme Head of the Church* should be omitted for the future. That all Exemptions granted to Monasteries in the Hands of Laymen should be taken away, and that all Churches should be Subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, except the Privileges of the Universities, *Westminster*, *Windsor* and the *Tower* of *London*; and the Statutes of *Mortmain* were repeal'd for twenty Years.

Title of Supreme Head of the Church to be omitted.

Statutes of Mortmain repeal'd.

By another Act the Laws against Lallards were reviv'd; it was also made High-Treason to conspire the Death of the King or Queen; and enacted, That if any Person asserted

Acts against Hereticks reviv'd.

*A.D.*1554 asserted, that King *Philip* ought not to assume the Title of King of *England*, his Goods should be confiscated, and he should suffer perpetual Imprisonment. And that if the Queen died before the King, and left Children, his Majesty should have the Government of them, and of the Kingdom, till the Heir came of Age; and if any Person conspir'd his Death during that time, such Offender should be adjudg'd guilty of High-Treason. It was also made Capital to pray, *That God would touch the Queen's Heart and turn her from Idolatry, or shorten her Days*, or to that Effect. And the spreading ill Reports to defame the Queen, her Ministers, Judges, or Great Officers of State, was to be punish'd with Loss of Hands, Ears, *&c.* After which the Parliament was dissolv'd on the 16th of *January*, and Ambassadors were sent to *Rome*, with the Submission of the King, Queen, and three Estates, to the Jurisdiction of that See.

2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

K. *Philip* to have the Guardianship of his Children.

Treason to conspire against his Life.

Or to pray to shorten the Queen's Days.

Penalty of defaming the Queen or her Ministry.

Popery being thus re-establish'd by Law, and the Protestants at the Mercy of their Enemies, it was debated in Council how they should be us'd, and what would be the most likely Means to unite them to the Catholick Church. Cardinal *Pole*, 'tis said, was of Opinion that the Protestants should be dealt with gently, and declar'd himself an Enemy to Persecution purely on a Religious Account; alledging, that it might make Hypocrites, but never sincere Christians. The most probable way to extirpate Heresy he thought, was to reform the Lives of the Clergy, who by their pious Examples would soon reclaim the Laity.

Pole for treating the Protestants gently.

But

But *Gardiner* was of another Mind, he look'd upon it, that the rigorous Execution of the Laws againſt Hereticks would much ſooner reduce them to the Obedience of the Church. The Queen declar'd ſhe was of *Gardiner*'s Opinion, that the Laws againſt Hereſy ought to be inforc'd, tho' ſhe ſhould take Care to ſee the Clergy reform'd at the ſame time. *A.D.* 1555. 2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.* *Gardiner* of another Mind.

In purſuance of this Reſolution, a Commiſſion was granted to *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, *Tonſtal*, and three other Biſhops, for the Trial of Hereticks in a Summary way; who in the beginning of *January* ſummon'd *Hooper* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, and *Rogers* Prebendary of St. *Paul*'s, and a celebrated Preacher, before them, and demanding of them whether they would ſubmit to the Church, the Priſoners anſwer'd, they eſteem'd the Church of *Rome* Antechriſtian. To which *Gardiner* replied, this was reproaching the Queen; *Rogers* ſaid, he honour'd the Queen, and expected no ill from her but as ſhe was excited by them. Whereupon *Gardiner* and his Aſſociates declar'd, that they were ſo far from exciting the Queen againſt them, that ſhe had commanded them to act as they did; which two of the Privy-Council who were preſent atteſted. And the Court proceeded to adjudge both the Priſoners obſtinate Hereticks. *Rogers* had the Honour of being the firſt Martyr. He was burnt in *Smithfield* on the 4th Day of *February*. He was offer'd a Pardon at the Stake if he would recant, but refus'd it, and ſaid, *He reſign'd his Life with Joy, in Teſtimony of the Doctrine he had preach'd.* The Perſecution begun. *Rogers* the firſt Martyr.

Hooper was ſent down to *Glouceſter*, where he had been Biſhop, and burnt there on the Bp. *Hooper* burnt.

*A.D.*1555 9th of *February*. He was alſo offer'd a Pardon if he would reconcile himſelf to the Church of *Rome*, but refus'd it. He was near three Quarters of an Hour in the moſt exquiſite Torture, his Legs and one of his Arms being conſum'd before the Fire reach'd his Vitals, occaſion'd by a high Wind that blew the Fire from his Body. But he behav'd with great Courage and Reſolution, crying out as he expir'd *Lord* Jeſus *receive my Spirit*. Afterwards I find ſeveral of the Martyrs tied Bags of Gunpowder about them, to prevent their lingring too long in the Flames. The Reſolution of theſe and ſome other Proteſtants that were burnt about this time, made *Gardiner* ſenſible that they were not to be wrought upon by ſuch terrible Executions; Hereſy, as he call'd it, ſeem'd rather to ſpread than be diſcourag'd; and as he found the Nation in general began to abhor and deteſt theſe Cruelties, he avoided ſitting in Judgment for the future on theſe Men, but transferr'd his Poſt of firſt Commiſſioner for the Trial of Hereſy to the hard-hearted *Bonner*, and even this Man, and the reſt of the Biſhops, it appears, were not always proud of the Office, but gave out, they were put upon theſe Meaſures by the Court. This King *Philip* taking as a Reflection on himſelf, who was already very unacceptable to the Nation, order'd, or at leaſt ſuffer'd, his Chaplain *Alphonſo* to inveigh againſt Perſecution, in a Sermon preach'd in his own Chapel; and about the ſame time procur'd the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to be releas'd from her Confinement, with Liberty to reſide at a Houſe of her own in the Country. But this, it ſeems, was upon Condition that ſhe

2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

Gardiner makes *Bonner* the chief Inquiſitor. The Court and the Biſhops charge each other with theſe Cruelties.

The Princeſs *Elizabeth* ſet at Liberty.

she should hear Mass, and conform in all things to the Church of *Rome*. *A.D.* 1555

2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

Pope *Julius* III. about this time issuing a a Bull against all those who retain'd any of the Lands of the Church in *Germany*, and declaring such Persons excommunicated, the Queen hearing of it, surrender'd all the Abby-Lands in *England*, that were in the Possession of the Crown, to the Use of the Church again, together with the first Fruits and Tenths, notwithstanding her Treasury was now very low, and her Ministers inform'd her, that the Bull publish'd in *Germany* did not at all affect the *English*, she apprehended if it was Sacriledge in *Germany* it must be so in *England*, and had heard Cardinal *Pole* denounce heavy Judgments against the Possessors of them in *England*, tho' for Reasons of State he did not insist on the restoring them when the Nation was reconcil'd to *Rome*.

The Pope excommunicates the Possessors of Church-Lands in *Germany*. The Queen surrenders the Abby-Lands, *&c.* in her Possession.

Pope *Julius* dying on the 23d of *March* this Year, was succeeded by *Marcellus* II. but he not living above three Weeks after his Advancement, Cardinal *Caraffa* was elected by the sacred College, and took upon him the Name of *Paul* IV. The Queen had us'd some Endeavours on this Vacancy, to promote Cardinal *Pole* to the Papacy; but it prov'd to no purpose, the Court of *Rome*, 'tis said, was afraid of his reforming Spirit.

Paul IV. elected Pope.

The *English* Ambassadors arriving at *Rome* the very Day that Pope *Paul* was elected, were not however admitted to Audience for a Month afterwards, on Pretence that the Kings of *England* had taken upon them the Title of Kings of *Ireland*, without the Leave of the Holy See. The Pope declar'd that no Power on Earth, but St. *Peter*'s Successor, could

An Embassy to the Pope. He refuses the Ambassadors Audience, because they stil'd her Majesty

*A.D.*1555 could erect new Kingdoms. However, he was at length so gracious, by his own pretended Authority, to make *Ireland* a Kingdom, and then after a Months waiting, he admitted the Ambassadors to their Audience, but acquainted them at the same time, that he expected to see all the Church-Lands in *England* restor'd, and that *Peter-Pence* should be reviv'd. But the Ambassadors answer'd, they had no Instructions to treat of these matters.

2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

Queen of *Ireland* without his Leave.

He insists on the restoration of the Abby-Lands and *Peter-pence*

In the mean time, both the Court of *England* and the Bishops, thought fit to respite the Burning of Protestants for some Weeks, but their Numbers being found to increase daily, the Queen sent her Orders to *Bonner*, who was of himself too cruelly enclin'd, as has been observ'd already, either to reclaim the Hereticks by Arguments, or to put the Laws in Execution against them. Orders were also sent to the Justices of Peace in every County, to search for Hereticks, and apprehend them, and particularly, to place Spies in every Parish to observe if any favour'd or supported them: Which so much resembled the *Spanish* Inquisition, that these Orders were generally thought to proceed from *Spanish* Councils. And now the Persecution was reviv'd with greater Severity than ever. The Queen, it seems, ascrib'd her Pregnancy and Hopes of Issue, to the Zeal she had shewn against Heresy, and in the beginning of *June* this Year, there was great Expectation of her being brought to Bed, it was even reported that a Prince was actually born, in many Places, and *Te Deum* sung upon the Occasion; but to the unspeakable Mortification of the Court, and of the Papists

The Persecution reviv'd with great Fury.

Papists in general, the Queen's Great Belly prov'd a Tympany, or false Conception at last, and the whole Train of Nurses and Rockers, that had been retain'd to serve the young Prince at his coming into the World, were abruptly discharg'd. And now King *Philip* despairing of Children by the Queen, left her, and on the 4th of *September* embark'd for *Flanders*.

A.D. 1555
2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

The Queen's great Belly proves a false Conception.

K. *Philip* embarks for *Flanders*

In the mean time the Persecution was continu'd, *Ferrar* late Bishop of St. *David*'s, and *White* a Fisherman, were burnt in *Wales*; and *March*, at *Priest* at *Westchester*; *Cord-maker*, a Prebendary of *Bath*, and *Warne* a Tradesman, were burnt in *Smithfield*; seven more were condemn'd by *Bonner*, and sent to several Places in *Essex* to be burnt; *Bradford* a Prebendary of St. *Paul*'s, was burnt in *July*; many more at *Canterbury*, and in other Parts of *Kent*. And in *October*, the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Gloucester*, and *Bristol*, were sent to *Oxford*, with a Commission from Cardinal *Pole*, for the Trial of *Ridley* late Bishop of *London*, and the aged *Latimer* late Bishop of *Worcester*, who refusing to acknowledge the Legates Authority, were condemn'd as obstinate Hereticks, and suffer'd Martyrdom in that University, on the 16th of the same Month. Both these venerable Men behav'd with that Resolution and Sedateness of Mind as amaz'd the Spectators; they encourag'd each other at the Stake to bear their Sufferings with Patience, and *Latimer*, who was now upwards of fourscore Years of Age, said *They should that Day light such a Candle in* England, *as, by God's Grace, should never be extinguish'd.* And possibly, nothing could have confirm'd the Protestants more in their Principles,

Great Numbers of Protestants burnt.

Ridley and *Latimer* condemn'd. They are burnt at *Oxford.*

*A.D.*1555 Principles, or contributed to baniſh Popery out of the Kingdom, than the Sufferings of ſo many great and good Men in the Defence of the Proteſtant Doctrines. This Year were burnt ſeventy-two Perſons in ſeveral Parts of *England*.

2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

The Perſons who had ſeiz'd the Church Plate, &c. call'd to Account.

As Money was pretty much wanting at this time, many of thoſe were call'd to a ſtrict Account who had been concern'd in ſeizing or diſpoſing of the Plate and Effects in the late diſſolv'd Monaſteries, and ſome of them were glad to purchaſe their Peace with large Sums. However, this not raiſing enough to ſupply the Exigencies of the Government, the Parliament was aſſembled on the 21ſt of *October*, and with ſome Difficulty the Queen obtain'd a ſingle Subſidy of them. The Senators Penſions were now probably diſcontinu'd, King *Philip* being gone to *Flanders*, and the Court not having ſhewn the ſame regard to the Parliament of late as at the beginning of this Reign, before Popery was eſtabliſh'd, they were diſguſted alſo; poſſibly, to ſee the Queen relinquiſh the Church-Lands, and then come to demand Money of the People, and might well be under Apprehenſions, as ſhe had parted with the Abby-Lands belonging to the Crown, that ſhe would in time endeavour to make her Subjects reſtore what they were poſſeſs'd of of that kind.

The Parliament meet, Grant a Subſidy.

But ſhew themſelves diſguſted with the Court.

Nor were they perfectly pleas'd with the Cruelties exercis'd on their fellow Subjects the Proteſtants, for when a Law was propos'd for confiſcating the Eſtates of thoſe that had fled beyond Sea, it was rejected; and another Bill was thrown out, that was intended to inflict Penalties on ſuch Juſtices of Peace, as were

were remiſs in perſecuting the Reform'd; nor was it without Oppoſition, that an Act paſs'd confirming the Queen's ſurrender of the Tithes and Impropriations in her Hands, with the Firſt Fruits and Tenths. A Subſidy of ſix Shillings in the Pound granted by the Convocation, was confirm'd in this Parliament. *A.D.* 1555. 2 & 3 *Mary* 1 & 2 *Philip.* The Queen's ſurrender of the Revenues of the Church confirm'd.

During this Seſſions died Biſhop *Gardiner*, an Eccleſiaſtick of excellent Parts and Learning, and well vers'd in Affairs of State; but an exquiſite Hypocrite, a Time-ſerver, and an implacable Enemy to the Proteſtants. One principal Reaſon aſſign'd for the Parliaments agreeing no better with the Court this Seſſion, is ſaid to be the Abſence of this Miniſter, who only knew how to make them ſubſervient to the Queen's Deſigns. Her Majeſty therefore thought fit to diſſolve them on the 9th of *December*. And within a Day or two after arriv'd the Bull from *Rome*, which erected *Ireland* into a Kingdom. Bp. *Gardiner* dies. The Parliament diſſolv'd.

About this time the Emperor *Charles* V. reſign'd all his Dominions, whereby his Son *Philip* became King of *Spain*, and Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*; the taking Poſſeſſion whereof kept that Prince ſtill on the other ſide the Water. The Emperor *Charles* V. abdicates his Dominions.

In the Month of *September* this Year, three Commiſſioners were ſent down to *Oxford*, to try Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, *viz.* *Brooks* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, aſſign'd by Cardinal *Pole* the Pope's Legate, and *Martin* and *Scory*, two Doctors of the Civil Law, aſſign'd by the King and Queen; for tho' the Convocation had adjudg'd *Cranmer* an Heretick formerly, he was not yet either depriv'd or condemn'd to die. The Charge againſt him was, that he *Cramer* tried for Hereſy.

*A.D.*1555 2 & 3 *Mary.* 1 & 2 *Philip.*

he had been twice married; that he had publiſh'd ſeveral heretical Books, deſerted the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and denied the real Preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament of the Altar. All which he confeſs'd, whereupon he was for Form ſake, cited to appear before the Pope within eighty Days, and his non-appearance was made one Article of his Condemnation. Which he obſerv'd was very unjuſt, as he was all the while detain'd a Priſoner.

And condemn'd.

*A.D.*1556 3 & 4 *Mary.* 2 & 3 *Philip.*

On the 14th of *February* the following Year, Biſhop *Bonner* and Biſhop *Thirlby*, came down to *Oxford* to degrade him. He was cloath'd in Robes of Canvas, and ſtripp'd of them Piece by Piece. *Bonner* doing the Office with his uſual Inſolence, while *Thirlby*, 'tis ſaid, wept at the Sight of it.

Cranmer degraded.

They did not however yet proceed to execute him; but all means were tried to prevail on him to recant. Firſt Hopes were given him of Life, if he would make ſome ſmall Conceſſions, then they requir'd him to confeſs ſomething more, till at length they had gotten four * Confeſſions from him, one after another; but theſe would not ſatisfy them, they brought him a Paper in which they made him renounce his Principles, and approve all the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, which after he had ſign'd, they intended he ſhould have read over in St. *Mary*'s Church, on the Day he was to ſuffer; for they never deſign'd to ſpare him, notwithſtanding they had ſo long flatter'd him with the Hopes of Life, *The Perſon who had divorc'd*

He ſigns a Recantation.

* *See* Strype's Memorials, *Vol.* III. *p.* 233.

vorc'd the Queen's Mother, and been the principal Inſtrument in aboliſhing Popery, could never be forgiven. A.D. 1556

3 & 4 *Mary* 2 & 3 *Philip*

It is generally ſaid, that they gave him no Notice of his Death till the very Day he ſuffer'd, being the 21ſt of *March*, but brought him to St. *Mary*'s that Day, under Pretence of reading his Recantation before the Univerſity, and that the Preacher in his Sermon firſt acquainted him he was to die, exhorting him to perſiſt in the Confeſſion of Faith he had lately made. But whether *Cranmer* was acquainted with their Deſign or not, certain it is, he took that Opportunity, in the Face of the Univerſity, to expreſs his Abhorrence of the Popiſh Tenets; to bewail his Weakneſs in ſigning the Papers they brought him; and declar'd, that as his Right Hand had offended, that ſhould firſt ſuffer in the Flames: And accordingly, when the Fire was kindled, he ſtretch'd out his Right Hand, and ſaw it firſt conſum'd, crying out ſeveral times, *That unworthy Hand.* It was obſerv'd alſo, that his Heart was found entire after his Body was conſum'd to Aſhes: Which is a Fact that requires to be well atteſted. But whether we may rely on this or not, it was certainly a very melancholly Spectacle, as a certain Hiſtorian obſerves, to ſee the Primate of *England*, who had in two Reigns ſo great a Share in his Sovereign's Favour; venerable for his Age, as well as for his Piety and Learning, and the admirable Endowments of his Mind, dreſs'd in a ridiculous Habit, tied to a Stake, ready to undergo a painful Death, and all the while expoſs'd to the ſcurrilous Jeſts and Curſes of a Croud of Bigots, who not only rejoic'd to ſee him thus

He is order'd to be burnt.

He profeſſes his abhorrence of Popery, and bewails his Weakneſs.

Burns his Right Hand firſt.

A.D. 1556 afflicted in this World, but consign'd him to eternal Torments in the next, prohibiting all Men even to pray for him. What Mortal could bear up under these terrible Circumstances? What are all the other trivial Evils in Life, compar'd with such a Scene of Horror? But all these Terrors did not amaze or confound the holy Martyr; he was only concern'd for the Weakness he had shewn; and as he held one Hand in the Fire till it was consum'd, he beat his Breast with the other as a Mark of his Repentance, and at length expir'd, crying *Lord* Jesus *receive my Spirit.*

3 & 4 *Mary.* 2 & 3 *Philip.*

Cardinal *Pole* Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

Cardinal *Pole*, who had been elected to succeed him in the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and had already receiv'd the usual Bulls from *Rome* to invest him in that See, was in pursuance of them Consecrated the next Day after *Cranmer* suffer'd; which gave Occasion to some to apply the Words of the Prophet *Elijah* to him, *Thou hast kill'd and taken Possession.* But he was in reality Archbishop soon after *Cranmer* receiv'd Sentence, and whether he had been put to Death or not, *Pole* would have been consecrated about this time; so that there is no manner of Reason to look upon the Cardinal as the Author of his Death. The true Reason that Cardinal *Pole* was not Archbishop of *Canterbury* long before, was that *Gardiner* was practising at *Rome* to get him recall'd, and had some Expectations of enjoying the See of *Canterbury* himself, and therefore had caus'd the Trial of *Cranmer* to be put off from time to time, to prevent *Pole*'s Advancement till he could accomplish his Designs.

Still

Still the Perſecution of the Proteſtants was carried on with great Fury; *Philip* and his *Spaniards*, to whom ſome aſcribe theſe Barbarities, indeed was on the other ſide the Water, and *Gardiner* their great Enemy was dead; but *Bonner*, a Monſter of Cruelty, had ſucceeded *Gardiner* as firſt Commiſſioner for the burning of Hereticks, and the Queen herſelf, who ſeem'd always to be of Opinion that they were only to be reclaim'd by burning, urg'd both the Biſhops and the Civil Magiſtrates to put the Laws in Execution againſt theſe Innocent People; inſomuch that we find them burnt in Cluſters about this time: in *January* five Men and two Women were burnt at one Stake in *Smithfield*, and one Man and four Women at *Canterbury*; in *April*, ſix *Eſſex* Men were burnt in *Smithfield*; and even the Aged, the Blind and the Lame were condemn'd to the Flames by *Bonner*, and actually executed. In *June*, *Bonner* caus'd eleven Men and two Women to be burnt in the ſame Fire at *Stratford* near *London*: And it is related, that a Woman and her two Daughters being burnt at the ſame Stake in the Iſland of *Jerſey*, one of them was deliver'd in the Flames, when ſome of the Standers-by endeavouring to ſave the Infant, an Officer threw it back into the Fire: And in this manner were eighty-ſeven, and according to others, ninety-four Proteſtants deſtroy'd this Year, beſides thoſe who periſh'd in noiſome Priſons, where they were frequently put to the Torture. It is reported of *Bonner*, that he would himſelf burn the Priſoners Hands and Fingers in the Candle, when other Arguments would not prevail, to induce them to recant.

*A.D.*1556

3 & 4 *Mary.* 2 & 3 *Philip.*

The Perſecution continues.

Thirteen burnt in one Fire.

*A.D.*1556 The unhappy Queen all this while imagin'd she was doing the most acceptable Service to Heaven, and that all these Cruelties were indeed Acts of Mercy, being intended to preserve the rest of her Subjects from everlasting Burnings. As a further Instance of her Piety, this Year she repair'd and erected several Religious Houses, and order'd the Accounts that had been given in of the Visitations of Monasteries, the Surrenders of the Monks to the Crown, and Renunciations of the Papal Authority, to be razed out of the Records; however, her Orders were not so punctually observ'd, but we find many of them preserv'd, which have been since collected by Bishop *Burnet*, *Rymer* and *Strype*, and are now in almost every Library.

3&4 *Mary.* 2&3 *Philip*

The Queen rebuilds several Monasteries.

Destroys the Records of their Visitation, Surrenders, &c.

A Truce for five Years was sign'd about this time, between *Henry* II. the *French* King, and *Philip* King of *Spain*, by the Mediation of Queen *Mary*, which was however broken within a few Months, and *England* made a Party in the War by the influence of *Philip*.

*A.D.*1557 The Persecution continu'd with great violence during the Year 1557, seventy-nine Protestants being burnt at the Stake, besides great Numbers that died in Prison: And such was the ridiculous Fury of the Papists against Hereticks as they were call'd, that they dug up several of them out of their Graves, and burnt their Remains, after they had been buried some Years, particularly the Bones of *Martin Bucer* and *Paul Phagius*, which were burnt in the Market-Place at *Cambridge*. The Corps of *Peter Martyr*'s Wife, who had been buried in a Church at *Oxford*, also was taken out of her Grave and buried in a Dunghill; but tho'

4&5 *Mary.* 3&4 *Philip*

Bucer's Bones, &c. burnt.

tho' the Fury of the Queen and Court was arriv'd at this height, it appears that the Juſtices of Peace and Magiſtrates wou'd no longer be made the Inſtruments of their Cruelty; and Cardinal *Pole* himſelf, 'tis ſaid, did all that lay in his Power to prevent theſe terrible Executions, accepting of the moſt trivial Submiſſions from thoſe that were brought before him, rather than ſuffer them to be burnt, inſomuch that he incurred the Diſpleaſure of the Pope by his Lenity. Circular Letters therefore were ſent by the Queen to the Juſtices of Peace to excite their Zeal againſt Hereſy; and when this was found to have little effect upon them, ſpecial Commiſſioners, zealous Bigots, were appointed in every County of *England* to ſearch for Hereticks, and to try and condemn them in a ſummary Way at their own Diſcretion, upon ſuch Proofs or Preſumptions as the Commiſſioners ſhould deem ſufficient Evidence; which was obſerv'd extremely to reſemble the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition. Theſe Commiſſioners, Hiſtory informs us, were generally Laymen; ſo that we are not, with *Rapin* and ſome other Writers, who appear prejudic'd againſt the Clergy of all Denominations, to look upon the Clergy as the *only* Inſtruments the Court made uſe of on theſe Occaſions.

A D. 1557

4 & 5 *Mary.* 3 & 4 *Philip*

Special Commiſſioners appointed to proſecute Hereticks.

In the mean time Pope *Paul* IV. the proudeſt and moſt troubleſome Prelate that ever fill'd the Papal Chair, pretending to be diſguſted with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, becauſe the Emperor *Charles* V. had reſign'd the Empire in Favour of his Brother *Ferdinand*, without the Leave of his Holineſs, prevail'd with the *French* King to break the Truce lately made, and

A.D. 1557 and to send an Army into *Italy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Guise*, for the Reduction of *Naples*, promising the Investiture of that Kingdom to one of the *French* King's Sons. This alarm'd King *Philip*, who was now become Sovereign of *Naples*, and put him upon assembling an Army in the *Netherlands*; *Philip* also persuaded his Wife, the Queen of *England*, to become a Party in the War; and embarking for *England* in the Month of *May*, he raised eight thousand Men (with his own Money I presume, for the *English* Exchequer was very low) and sent them under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke* to *Flanders*, following them in Person in *July*; and having form'd an Army of fifty thousand Men, including the *English* Auxiliaries, he determin'd to revenge himself on the *French* for their perfidious Breach of the Truce, in attacking his Kingdom of *Naples*.

4&5 *Mary*. 3&4 *Philip*

The Pope persuaded the *French* to break the Truce with *Spain*.

England becomes a Party in the War.

The *Scots* infest the Borders.

On the other Hand, the *French*, in order to distress the *English* as usual, spirited up the *Scots* to attack the Borders; but that Nation being generally averse to the War, they soon retir'd. The *French* King about the same time suffer'd one *Stafford*, an *Englishman* of the late Duke of *Buckingham*'s Family, to raise Troops in *France*, who being furnish'd with Shipping, landed in *Scotland*, and from thence march'd to *Scarborough-Castle*, which he took; and publish'd a Declaration, setting forth, that the Queen had forfeited her Crown by putting her Kingdom under the Government of the *Spaniards*; and took upon himself the Title of Protector of the Realm; but few People coming in to him,

Stafford takes *Scarbrough-Castle*,

Scarborough

Scarborough was re-taken, and *Stafford* with some of his Accomplices made Prisoners *. A.D.1557

4&5 *Mary*. 3&4 *Philip*

The Duke of *Savoy*, King *Philip*'s General, laying Siege to St. *Quintin* about this time, which had but a very slender Garrison, and the Constable of *France* endeavouring to throw Relief into the Place, this occasion'd a Battle between the *French* and *Spaniards*, in which the *French* were defeated with the Loss of five and twenty hundred Men, and the Constable himself, with great Numbers of the *French* Nobility and Gentry were made Prisoners: And a Week afterwards the Town of St. *Quintin* surrendered. This put the *French* King into a great Consternation, and having no Army on Foot capable of preventing the *Spainards* advancing into the Heart of his Country, was oblig'd to recall his Forces commanded by the Duke of *Guise* out of *Italy*, and leave his Holiness at the Mercy of the *Spaniards*.

But is made Prisoner.

The *Spaniards* obtain a Victory over the *French* at St. *Quintin*.

The Pope understanding that the *English* had contributed very much to the Victory obtain'd over the *French* at St. *Quintin*, which had occasion'd the re-calling the *French* Troops from *Italy*, and reduc'd him to the Distress he was in, vented his Rage against Cardinal *Pole*, who might have prevented the *English* joining his Enemies the *Spaniards*, as he apprehended, and proceeded so far as to recall the Cardinal, and appoint one *Peyto* to succeed him as Legate in *England*. He also requir'd *Pole* to attend him at *Rome*, and answer some Complaints that were exhibited against

The Pope forsaken of his Allies, vents his Rage on Cardinal *Pole*.

* Stafford *and thirty-four more were executed for this Insurrection.* Strypes Memoirs, Vol. 3. pag. 418.

*A.D.*1557 4&5 *Mary.* 3&4 *Philip.*

againſt him concerning his favouring Hereticks: But the Queen order'd the Pope's Bulls that were ſent to *England* on this Occaſion to be laid by unopen'd, and ſent a Meſſage to *Peyto*, forbidding him to enter *England* on pain of incurring a *Præmunire:* However, *Pole* thought fit to forbear to act as Legate 'till he had made his Submiſſion to the Pope, and obtain'd freſh Powers, which he receiv'd ſoon after, upon the *Spaniards* making Peace with his Holineſs, and there were publick Rejoycings in *England* on this Reconciliation. The latter end of this Year, King *Philip* ſent Advice to the Court of *England* that the *French* had a Deſign upon *Calais*, and offer'd to put a Detachment of his Troops into the Place to ſecure the Town againſt them; but the Council in *England* were at this time ſo abundantly cautious, that they would not accept *Philip*'s Offer, imagining it to be an Artifice of the *Spaniards* to get Poſſeſſion of that Important Place; nor were they much to blame poſſibly in refuſing *Spaniſh* Troops, but why they did not command the Earl of *Pembroke*, who then commanded eight thouſand *Engliſh* in *Flanders*, to ſend a Detachment thither, or re-inforce the Garriſon ſome other way, is not ſo eaſy to account for: To ſay that the Court of *England* were ſo intent on propagating Popery with Fire and Faggot that they could mind nothing elſe, as *Rapin* and ſome other Writers ſuggeſt, is ridiculous, when they tell us at the ſame time that the Council had the Matter under Debate, and that they appear'd very Jealous of *Philip*; it would have taken up but very little more time to have order'd ſome Regiments of *Engliſh* to have re-inforc'd the Garriſon.

Philip makes Peace with the Pope.

He gives Notice the *French* deſign'd to ſurprize *Calais*.

But

But the Truth of it is, the *French* had but juſt receiv'd a very terrible Blow at St. *Quintin*'s, and appear'd ſcarce able to defend their own Country. The *Spaniards* and their Confederates were acknowledg'd to be ſuperior to them, and it was now the very depth of Winter; add to this, that *Calais* had long been look'd upon as impregnable, at leaſt, not ſo weak as to be carried by a ſhort Winter's Siege before it could be reliev'd; and it will not appear ſo ſurprizing that the *Engliſh* Council deferr'd for a little time the ſending a Re-inforcement thither. *Rapin* indeed, who takes all Opportunities of ſhewing his Spleen againſt the Clergy of every Religion and Perſuaſion, aſcribes this Negligence altogether to the *Eccleſiaſticks*, of whom he affirms the Queen's Council was chiefly compos'd. *Nothing leſs*, ſays that Writer, *was to be expected from a Council compos'd chiefly of Eccleſiaſticks, who were only intent upon the Ruin of Proteſtants.* Whereas in fact, the Queen's Council then conſiſted of thirty-five Members, whereof only five were Clergymen*. And the greateſt Part of this very Council did the Glorious Queen *Elizabeth* retain in her's. So very falſe is the Matter of Fact aſſerted by *Rapin*; and ſo very Impertinent, or rather Malicious is his Remark in relation to the Clergy on this Occaſion. But to proceed,

A.D. 1557

4 & 5 *Mary.* 3 & 4 *Philip*

Rapin relates a Fact untruely, and then Comments upon it as uſual.

A.D. 1558

5 & 6 *Mary.* 4 & 5 *Philip*

The *French* take *Calais*

Advice arriving the 3d of *January*, that on the firſt of that Month the *French* commanded by the Duke of *Guiſe* appear'd before *Calais*, and were battering it furiouſly, five-hundred Men were immediately ſent from

* *See* Strype's Memoirs, Vol 3. *p.* 479.

*A.D.*1558 *London* down the *Thames*, and ſeveral Detachments from other Ports with Orders to throw themſelves into *Calais* at all Hazards; but they were unfortunately detain'd on this ſide the Water by contrary Winds. The *French* in the mean time making a falſe attack upon the Town, and the Governor, who had not a Garriſon ſufficient to defend all the Works, drawing his Men out of the Caſtle to oppoſe them, the Enemy on a ſudden ſtorm'd the Caſtle, and carried it, there being indeed ſcarce any Hands left to defend it, after which the Town was ſoon oblig'd to ſurrender; the Governor, the Lord *Wentworth*, and fifty Officers were made Priſoners of War, and the reſt of the Garriſon ſuffer'd to march away. Thus was *Calais* loſt in a Week's time, after it had been in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* two hundred and ten Years. And all the *Engliſh* Inhabitants were oblig'd to remove out of the Place. The Duke of *Guiſe* within a Week after made himſelf Maſter of *Guiſnes* and *Hammes* in the Neighbourhood of *Calais*, whereby the *Engliſh* were entirely diſpoſſeſs'd of every thing they held upon the Continent. Though the Reader muſt have obſerv'd in peruſing the Hiſtory of *France*, that nothing was ever more unlikely than ſuch an Enterprize of the *French* at this time. They had been beaten a little before at St. *Quintin*; they were not able to keep the Field againſt the *Spaniards* the Allies of *England*, and were in pain even for their Capital City of *Paris* but a very little before: The Duke of *Guiſe* in this Diſtreſs, being call'd out of *Italy* to defend his Country, and finding the *French* in the utmoſt Conſternation, propos'd, while the *Spaniards* were in their Winter

5 & 6 *Mary* 4 & 5 *Philip*

Winter Quarters to raiſe the Spirits of his Countrymen, and give new Life to their Affairs, by making a ſudden Attempt upon *Calais*, which he underſtood had very few Soldiers in it, and might be confident never dream't of ſuch a Viſit at this time, conſidering the Circumſtances the *French* were in: And he was ſo fortunate as to ſucceed in the Enterprize; but had not the Winds detain'd the *Engliſh* Forces on the other ſide the Water, he might probably have been oblig'd to break up the Siege with Diſgrace; he was in a great Meaſure oblig'd to Fortune for his Succeſs, tho' 'tis very true, the Conduct of the Court of *England* in neglecting ſo important a Place, can never wholly be excus'd, how little likelihood ſoever there was of its being attack'd. *A.D.*1558 5&6 *Mary.* 4&5 *Philip*

But whatever might be offer'd to palliate the Misfortune, the Murmurs of the *Engliſh* were very loud upon the Occaſion. They could not believe but there was Treachery at the bottom, and were not afraid to arraign even the Miniſters themſelves: And indeed ſays *Rapin*, *From this unhappy Period* England *has met with none of thoſe Reſpects and Submiſſions from* France *(the Times of the Civil Wars excepted) which ſhe commanded before.* From whence one would be tempted to think that *England* never made a Figure ſince, *but in the Time of the Rebellion during* Cromwell's *Uſurpation.* Whereas in Truth, the Nation never gain'd more Glory than in the ſucceeding Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, nor did any of our Princes interpoſe more in the Affairs of *France* than ſhe did; but as it is *Rapin*'s Principal View in his precious Hiſtory to juſtify the Grand Rebellion, or rather to prove that

A Stupid Remark of *Rapin*'s on the loſs of *Calais*.

*A.D.*1558 it was no Rebellion at all, but that the King was justly depos'd, and call'd to account by his Sovereign Subjects, we must forgive him this Flight.

5 & 6 *Mary.* 4 & 5 *Philip*

King *Philip* proposes the re-taking of *Calais.*

King *Philip* offer'd the Court of *England* his Assistance to retake *Calais*; but as the Exchequer was very low, and the *French* had put a very numerous Garrison into the Place, and the Season was by no means proper to undertake a Siege, they did not think fit to accept his offer, possibly they apprehended that as *Philip*'s Forces were more numerous than the *English*, and would have the greatest share in the taking the Town, he would have kept Possession of it; and therefore those to avoid putting the Nation to the Expence of taking a Place they could not promise themselves they should keep: They would rather see it in the Hands of the *French* than the *Spaniards* perhaps. It is difficult to think with Mr. *Rapin*, that the Principal Reason the Council did not endeavour the retaking it was *least the Siege should give an Interruption to the Persecution*: For nothing could have raised the Queen's Reputation more, or rendered her more Formidable to the Protestants than the re-taking this Town, if it could have been effected.

The Parliament meets.

The Parliament met on the 21st of *January*, and being sensible of the great Necessities of the State, gave the Queen a Subsidy, a Tenth and a Fifteenth, the Clergy having before granted eight Shillings in the Pound out of their Revenues to be rais'd in four Years; and a Bill was brought into the House to confirm all such Letters Patents as the Queen either had made or should make, which regarded chiefly the Religious Houses of the Queen's Foundation;

Foundation; however, one of the Members, Mr. *Coxley*, ſuggeſted that the Queen might diſpoſe of the Crown by Virtue of this Bill; for which he receiv'd a Reprimand from the Houſe, for they ſaid they would not have it ſo much as imagin'd, that the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was intended to be excluded; and look'd upon the Inſinuation as a Reflection on her Majeſty's Honour. Mr. *Rapin* affirms *Coxley* was ſent to the *Tower*; but in this he ſeems to be ſingular, and produces no Authority for his Aſſertion: However, the Parliament paſs'd an Act confirming ſuch *Letters Patents* as the Queen had made, or ſhould make within ſeven Years, but they did not confirm all the Queen's *Proclamations* (as *Rapin* again erroneouſly affirms) if we may Credit our Statute Book.

A.D. 1558

5 & 6 *Mary.* 4 & 5 *Philip.*

An Act confirming the Queen's Letters Patents miſtaken by *Rapin.*

Another Act was made in this Parliament for expelling all the *French* out of the Kingdom that were not denizens, and *Ambroſe* and *Robert Dudley*, two Sons of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, by another Act were reſtor'd to Blood, after which the Parliament was prorogued from the 7th of *March* to the ſeventh of *November*.

The following Month the Marriage between the Dauphin of *France* and *Mary* Queen of *Scotland* was celebrated, and with a great deal of difficulty the *Scots* conſented that the Dauphin ſhould bear the Title of King of *Scotland*, but with an expreſs Proviſion that he ſhould not intermeddle in the Government of that Kingdom.

Marriage between the Queen of *Scots* and the Dauphin.

The old King of *Sweden* about the ſame time propos'd a Marriage between his eldeſt Son and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* to the Court of *England*. But before Queen *Mary*'s Conſent was

A Marriage propos'd between the Princeſs *Elizabeth* and the Prince of *Sweden.*

*A.D.*1558 was demanded, the young Prince like a Man of Honour, ſent a Gentleman privately to the Princeſs, to know if ſhe would admit of his Addreſſes, to whom ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe ſhould admit of no Propoſals of that kind, before they were communicated to the Queen; and when her Majeſty ſent to the Princeſs to know her Intentions, after the matter had been notified in Form, the Princeſs anſwer'd, ſhe choſe to remain as ſhe was, and ſhould not alter her Condition.

5 & 6 *Mary.* 4 & 5 *Philip.*

Still the Perſecution continu'd, and it being obſerv'd that the Proteſtants receiv'd great Encouragement from Books that were ſent them from beyond Sea, a Proclamation was publiſh'd, prohibiting the Importation of heretical Books, declaring, that if they were not immediately deliver'd to the Magiſtrate upon the receipt of them, that they might be burnt without being read or communicated to any Perſon whatever, and the Perſons receiving them ſhould be adjudg'd Hereticks: It was alſo forbidden to pray for Hereticks at their Executions; notwithſtanding which, it appears, that the People grew more bold than ever, and attended the Martyrs with their good Wiſhes and Prayers to the Stake. It is not improbable if the Queen had liv'd much longer, but ſhe would have been compell'd to have diſcontinu'd theſe Barbarities, which were deteſted by the Nobility and Gentry, as well as by the common People, unleſs ſhe had introduc'd a Body of *Spaniards*, and reduc'd the Kingdom to a State of abſolute Slavery, which it was frequently ſuggeſted King *Philip* and the Queen had agreed to do, if they could not eſtabliſh Popery by any other means. But to take a View of what

Declar'd Capital to receive any heretical Books.

was

was doing on the other side of the Water in the mean time. *A.D.*1558

5 & 6 *Mary.* 4 & 5 *Philip.*

The Marshal *de Thermes*, Governor of *Calais*, making an Incursion into the *Spanish* Frontiers in the Month of *July*, was intercepted in his return near *Graveling*, by Count *Egmont* King *Philip*'s General, who defeated him, kill'd five thousand of the *French*, and took the Marshal himself Prisoner, with most of his Officers, and several other Persons of Distinction. A Squadron of *English* Men of War contributed much towards this Victory, for the Battel being fought near the Sea-side, the *French* were extremely disorder'd by the great Guns from the Shipping, which fir'd on their Flank during the Engagement.

The *French* defeated by the *Spaniards* near *Graveling*.

This Battel was fought on the 13th of *July*, soon after which the *English* equipp'd a Fleet of an hundred and forty Sail, under the Command of the Lord *Clinton* the Admiral, and putting seven thousand Land Forces, on board, made an Attempt upon the Town of *Breſt* in *Bretagne*; but not succeeding there, they burnt *Conquet*, and some other small Places on the Coast, and return'd to *England*.

The *English* make a Descent on the *French* Coast.

The *French* King finding he was like to gain little by this War against the *Spaniards* and the *English*, made some Proposals of Peace. Whereupon a Treaty was set on Foot between the *Spaniards* and the *English* on one side, and the *French* on the other, in the Month of *October* at *Cambray*, wherein the Plenipotentiaries of *England* and *Spain* insisted on the Restoration of *Calais*, and it is highly probable, the *French* must have been oblig'd to yield it up; but Queen *Mary* dying

A Treaty of Peace begun at *Cambray*.

*A.D.*1558 ing during the Treaty, King *Philip* became indifferent whether the Town were in the Hands of *France* or *England*, and indeed, made a ſeparate Peace in the ſucceeding Reign without including the *Engliſh*.

5 & 6 *Mary.* 4 & 5 *Philip.*

The Queen's Sickneſs.

It is generally ſaid, that Queen *Mary* never had her Health after her falſe Conception, and that *Philip*'s Unkindneſs and the Loſs of *Calais* contributed to her Illneſs; but it is very evident from ſome Letters of *Philip*'s that we meet with in *Stripe*'s Collections *, that there was but too good an Underſtanding between the King and Queen, and that there was a Deſign to bring *England* under as arbitrary a Dominion as *Philip* exercis'd in his other Territories. It is evident alſo, from the Account her own Phyſicians gave of the matter, that Queen *Mary* was carried off by the ſame malignant Fever, which this Year deſtroy'd a Multitude of other People, and among them Cardinal *Pole* and twelve Biſhops more. But whatever was her Diſtemper, the Queen died on the 17th of *November*, in the 43d Year of her Age, and the 6th of her Reign, and the Cardinal within leſs than four and twenty Hours after, the Parliament being then aſſembled, but had paſs'd no Act: The Commons were out of Temper and would give no Supplies, tho' a Committee of Lords came down to their Houſe, to ſhew the Neceſſity of granting an Aid to carry on the War, in order to obtain advantagious Terms of Peace. The Queen poſſibly might be Dropſical, but it is reaſonable to believe there was no Danger of her dying

Q. *Mary*'s Death. Cardinal *Pole* and 12 other Biſhops die about the ſame time.

* *See* Strype's Memoirs, *Vol.* III. *Anno* 1558.

dying ſuddenly till the Fever ſeiz'd her, becauſe the Perſecution was carried on to the very Week ſhe died; and it cannot be ſuppos'd the Miniſtry would have ſuffer'd this if they had expected ſo ſudden a Change, as they were ſenſible ſuch an Action would not recommend them to the Succeſſor. And here I ſhall take an Opportunity of giving a particular Account of the Number of Martyrs that ſuffer'd in this Reign, from *Strype*'s *Memorials*.

The Number of Martyrs in Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

'*Anno* 1555, according to *Cooper*, there 'were burnt at ſundry Places and Times, 'eighty, beſides thoſe who died in Priſon.

'*Anno* 1556, burnt eighty-ſix, whereof 'many were Women and Maidens.

'*Anno* 1557, burnt ſixty-ſeven, of which 'about twenty were Women.

'*Anno* 1558 the Number not mention'd, 'only it is expreſs'd to be a great many in 'divers Places.

'According to Biſhop *Burnet*, in his Hiſtory 'of the Reformation, the Numbers conſum'd 'by Fire under thoſe Years, ſtood thus,

'*Anno* 1555, burnt ſeventy-two; *Anno* '1556, burnt ninety-four; *Anno* 1557, burnt 'ſeventy-nine; *Anno* 1558, burnt thirty-'nine; in all two hundred and eighty-four.

'*Speed* the Hiſtorian recounts the Numbers 'in this Method, as it was tranſcrib'd by *Wea-'ver* in his Monuments. In the Heat of 'whoſe Flames were burnt to Aſhes, five 'Biſhops, one and twenty Divines, eight 'Gentlemen, eighty-four Artificers, and an 'hundred Huſbandmen, Servants, and La-'bourers; twenty-ſix Wives, twenty Wi-'dows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two 'Infants; one of them whipt to Death by

'*Bonner*, and the other ſpringing out of the 'Mother's Womb from the Stake as ſhe 'burn'd, thrown again into the Fire. Sixty-'four more were perſecuted for their Pro-'feſſion of Faith, whereof ſeven were whipp'd, 'ſixteen periſh'd in Priſon, twelve buried in 'Dunghills, many lay in Captivity con-'demn'd, but were releas'd and ſav'd by 'the auſpicious Entrance of peaceable *Eli-'zabeth*, and fled the Land in thoſe Days of 'Diſtreſs, which by her, upon their return, 'were honourably preferr'd. So that ac-'cording to this Calculation, the Numbers 'of thoſe that were burnt amounted to two 'hundred and ſeventy-ſeven.

'But we may beſt depend upon the Ac-'count given us by the Lord *Burghley*, in 'his Treatiſe, call'd *Execution of Juſtice in 'England*, writ in the Year 1583, who there 'reckon'd the Number together of thoſe 'that died in that Reign by Impriſonment, 'Tortures, Famine and Fire, to be near 'four hundred, and among that Lord's Ma-'nuſcripts I find a Paper making the burned 'to amount to the Number of two hundred 'and ninety *.'

The Queen's Perſon and Character.

The Queen, as ſhe was not very beautiful, ſo Hiſtorians relate, ſhe had nothing very ſhocking in her Perſon. Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, ſhe was a Woman of a ſtrict and innocent Life, that allow'd herſelf few of the Diverſions with which Courts abound, that ſhe was bred to Learning, and underſtood *Latin* well; was conſtant in her Devotions, and much addicted to the Intereſts and Humours

* *See* Strype's Memorials, *Vol.* III. *p.* 473.

mours of the Clergy; that ſhe had great Reſentments of the ill Uſage ſhe met with in her Father's and Brother's Reigns, which induc'd her to take her Revenge, tho' ſhe colour'd it with a Zeal againſt Hereſy, and if ſhe could have extirpated Hereſy, regarded other Things very little.

Cardinal *Pole*'s Character.

The ſame Writer gives us the following Character of Cardinal *Pole*, who died the Day after Queen *Mary*, *(viz.)* the Cardinal was not a Man made to raiſe a Fortune, being by the Greatneſs of his Birth, and his excellent Virtues, carried far above ſuch mean Deſigns; he was a learned, modeſt, humble, and good natur'd Man; and indeed, had ſuch Qualities, and ſuch a Temper, that if he could have brought the other Biſhops to follow his Meaſures, or the Pope and Queen to approve them, he might probably have done much towards the reducing the Nation to Popery again; but this was the only thing in which the Queen was not led by the Cardinal, ſhe imputed his Opinion in that particular, rather to the Sweetneſs of his Temper than to his Wiſdom and Experience; and it is very true, that Cardinal *Pole* did moſt part of the time he remain'd in *England*, endeavour to put a Stop to the Perſecution, and at one time releas'd no leſs than two and twenty whom *Bonner* was about to condemn to the Flames: But in the laſt Year of his Life he ſeems to have been much alter'd, for we meet with a Speech of his to the Magiſtrates of *London*, in *Strype*'s *Collections* *, wherein he exhorts them to diſco-

* Strype's Memorials, *Vol.* III. *p.* 454. Catalogue of Originals, Nº 68.

ver Hereticks, and tells them, that they could not exercise greater Cruelty towards the Common-Wealth, than by nourishing and favouring such, for they were more pernicious than Thieves, Murderers, or Adulterers, and no kind of Treason could be compar'd to theirs; he urg'd Parents and Masters to reduce the younger Sort to the old Religion, who were, he observ'd, generally bent to Heresy, which appear'd in that when any Heretick went to Execution, he wanted not Encouragement to die in his Opinion, and while in Prison they were much cherish'd. Suitable to this Speech also, was one of the last Actions of his Life, for he sent down five Protestants to be burnt at *Canterbury*, and they were actually burnt there at his Instigation, on the 10th of *November*, being but a Week before he died. Which surely Bishop *Burnet* was not acquainted with when he gave so desirable a Character of the Cardinal.

The Queen's Title.

The Queen had a Parliamentary as well as an Hereditary Title, for by 35 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 1. above-mention'd, the Crown is limited to her, and the Heirs of her Body, on failure of Issue of her Brother Prince *Edward*; and if King *Henry*'s Marriage with her Mother, who was his eldest Brother's Widow, should be admitted to be void, yet according to the Civilians, she might have a Title by Descent; for it seems they held, that the Issue of such a Marriage made *bona Fide*, shall be look'd upon as legitimate before a legal Separation, tho' the Marriage should afterwards be declar'd void; and if ever there was a Marriage of this nature made *bona Fide* this was, for it was made upon the most

moſt mature Advice and Deliberation, and the Parties continu'd Man and Wife near twenty Years, before any Objection was made to the Legality of it. But further, as to her Parliamentary Title, there is indeed a Proviſion in the Act (for limiting the Succeſſion of the Crown) that their Eſtate ſhould be ſubject to ſuch Condition as King *Henry* VIII. ſhould preſcribe by his Laſt Will; but King *Henry* making their Marriage without the Conſent of the Council the only Condition to defeat their Eſtate, and the Princeſs *Mary* not marrying before her Acceſſion, the Limitation of the Crown to her became abſolute, and conſequently, beſides her Title by Deſcent, ſhe had as good a Title as the Legiſlature could confer upon her.

Rapin inconſiſtent with himſelf.

In ſpeaking of Queen *Mary*'s Title, *Rapin* ſeems to prefer Hereditary Right to a Parliamentary Title, for he queſtions whether it be in the Power of the King and Parliament, to ſet aſide the next Heir and place a Baſtard on the Throne. And again, ſpeaking of the Princeſſes *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, he ſays, admitting they were Legitimate, the King and Parliament could not have put any Conditions upon them to defeat their Succeſſion. *Rapin*, *Tindal*'s Tranſlation, 8vo. Edit. Vol. VIII. p. 111.

His Readers can't but obſerve theſe Aſſertions are inconſiſtent with what he has advanc'd in forty other Places of his admir'd Hiſtory.

Her Marriage.

This Princeſs had been contracted ſeveral times in the Life of her Father *Henry* VIII. *viz.* to the Emperor, the King of *Scots*, the *French* King, and his Son the Duke of *Orleans*; but none of them ever taking effect, ſhe was

was married in the ſecond Year of her Reign to *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, Son to the Emperor *Charles* V. and was thought to have been with Child by him, but it prov'd a falſe Conception.

Religious Foundations.

I don't find ſhe erected any Religious Foundations, unleſs thoſe Monaſteries may be accounted ſuch which ſhe built with the Produce of the Church-Lands ſhe relinquiſh'd, and theſe were all ſuppreſs'd again, in the beginning of the next Reign.

Remarkables in this Reign. Price of Grain.

In the 4th Year of this Reign there was ſuch a Scarcity, that Wheat was ſold at fifty-three Shillings the Quarter before Harveſt, and the Harveſt was no ſooner over, but there was as great a Plenty, Wheat being then ſold for five Shillings the Quarter, or ſeven Pence Half-penny the Buſhel.

A great Storm.

Biſhop *Burnet* and ſeveral of our Hiſtorians relate, that in *July* 1558, Thunder broke near *Nottingham* with ſuch Violence that it beat down two little Towns, with all the Houſes and Churches in them; the Bells being carried a great way from the Steeples, and the Lead of the Churches roll'd up together, and thrown four hundred Feet; that Trees were torn up by the Roots, and ſeveral Men and Children were carried away by a Storm of Wind that happen'd at the ſame time, and kill'd by being daſh'd againſt Trees or Houſes, and Hailſtones fell that were fifteen Inches about. But the moſt terrible Calamity was a malignant intermitting Fever, not unlike the Plague, that rag'd at this time, inſomuch that three parts in four of the People were infected with it, and there were not Men enough left to get in the Harveſt.

A Sickneſs.

The

The *Engliſh* having in the beginning of this Reign diſcover'd a Paſſage to *Ruſſia*, by ſailing North about to the Port of *Archangel*, *John Baſilonitz*, then Great Duke of *Muſcovy*, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *England*, inviting us to trade with his People, and his Ambaſſador arriving in *England* in the Year 1556, great Privileges were granted the *Engliſh* Merchants.

The North East Paſſage to *Ruſſia* diſcover'd.

The Noblemen created or reſtor'd in this Reign were as follows, *(viz.) Edward Courtney*, Son to *Henry Courtney* Marquiſs of *Exeter*, reſtor'd and created Earl of *Devonſhire*, at *Richmond*, *September* 3d, in the 1ſt Year of the Queen, and died at *Padua* in *Italy*.

Noblemen created or reſtor'd in this Reign.

Thomas Piercie, Son to Sir *Thomas Piercie*, Knt. was reſtor'd and advanc'd to the Degree of a Baron, *April* 30th, 3 and 4 *Philip* and *Mary*, and the Day following to the Earldom of *Northumberland*. He was made General Warden of the Eaſt and Middle *Marches*, 10 *Eliz.* After attainted and ſuffer'd Death at *York* for Treaſon, in the 12th of the ſaid Queen.

Anthony Brown, created Viſcount *Montague*, 2d *September*, 1 and 2 *Philip* and *Mary*, and made Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter. He was the Son of Sir *Anthony Brown*, and of the Lady *Lucy* his Wife, Daughter, and one of the Heirs of *John Nevil* Marquis of *Montague*.

William Howard, third Son of *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, was created Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, *March* 11, 1 *Mary*, and *March* 20th, Lord High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, and Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter.

Sir

Sir *Edward North*, Knt. Baron of *Carteleigh*, by Summons to Parliament, 1 *Mary*. He was Father to *Roger* Lord *North*, and took his Place in Parliament, *April* 7th.

Sir *John Williams*, Knt. created Lord *Williams* of *Thame*, *April* 5, at St. *James*'s. And upon the Queen's Marriage was made Lord Chamberlain to King *Philip*.

Sir *John Bruges*, Knt. was, 8th *April*, 1 *Mary*, created Baron *Chandois* of *Sudeley*, and died the ſame Year. Whoſe Son was,

Edmund Lord *Chandois* ſucceeding his Father in this Honour, in the firſt of the Queen he was made Lieutenant of the *Tower*.

Sir *Edward Haſtings*, Knt. third Son to *George* Earl of *Huntington*, became Lord *Haſtings* of *Loughborough* by Summons to Parliament, the 4th and 5th *Philip* and *Mary*. He was Lord Chamberlain to Queen *Mary*, and Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter.

Statutes in this Reign.

Beſides the Acts of Parliament already mention'd, concerning Religion and the State, the following Statutes were made, *viz.*

Limitation of Actions.

1 *Mary*, *Cap.* 5. declares to what Actions the Statute of Limitations, made 32 *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 2. ſhall not extend.

Coining, Privy Seal.

The 1 *Mary*, *Cap.* 6. makes it Treaſon to forge or counterfeit any Foreign Coin current in this Realm, or the King's Sign Manual, or Privy Seal.

Juſtices, Sheriffs.

The 1 *Mary*, *Cap.* 7. Enacts, that no Juſtice of Peace ſhall execute that Office while he is Sheriff.

College of Phyſicians.

By 1 *Mary*, *Cap.* 9. the Privileges of the College of Phyſicians in *London* are confirm'd and enlarg'd.

By

Egyptians.

By 1 and 2 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 4. it was made Felony without Benefit of Clergy, for any Perſons call'd *Egyptians* to remain in the Kingdom, and a Penalty of forty Pounds laid upon any one who ſhould bring them over.

Retailers of Goods.

By 1 and 2 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 7. it is Enacted, that no Perſon inhabiting any Country Place ſhall ſell Goods by Retail in any Town Corporate or Market Town, unleſs in open Fairs. Provided, that any Perſon may ſell Linnen or Woollen Cloth of his own making.

Coin.

By 1 and 2 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 11. it was made High-Treaſon to import any Counterfeit Foreign Coin.

Diſtreſſes.

By *Cap.* 12. that Diſtreſſes ſhould be impounded in the Hundred where they were taken, and all in one Place, and that the Sheriff ſhould appoint four Deputies to make Replevins.

Juſtices Bail.

By 1 and 2 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 13. two Juſtices of the Peace, *Quor. Un.* are autho-ris'd to bail Perſons apprehended for Felony, or Suſpicion of Felony.

Horſes Toll.

By 2 and 3 *Philip* and *Mary* it is Enacted, that Horſes ſold in Fairs ſhall be toll'd, and the manner of doing it preſcrib'd.

Highways.

By 2 and 3 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 8. all Perſons are made chargeable to the Repairs of the Highways.

Juſtices, Felons.

By 2 and 3 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 10. Juſtices of Peace are requir'd to take the Examination of Felons brought before them in Writing, with the Examinations of the Witneſſes, and bind them over to give Evidence at the Aſſizes.

Clergy, Acceſſaries

By 4 and 5 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 4. the Benefit of Clergy is taken away from the Acceſſaries to Treaſon, Murder, and Felony before the Fact.

Jury, Tales.

By 4 and 5 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 7. it is Enacted, that where a full Jury does not appear, a *Tales de Circumſtantibus* may be granted.

Women ſtoln.

By 4 and 5 *Philip* and *Mary*, *Cap.* 2. it is Enacted, that if any Perſons convey a Woman Child under ſixteen Years of Age, from her Parents or Guardians without their Conſent, ſuch Offender ſhall be fin'd, and ſuffer two Years Impriſonment; and if they ſhall

Or married under 16.

marry or deflour ſuch Woman Child, ſhall ſuffer five Years Impriſonment; and if ſuch young Woman ſhall voluntarily contract Matrimony, without the Conſent of her Parents or Guardians, her Eſtate ſhall go to the next of Kin.

A TRANSCRIPT of ſome ORIGINAL PAPERS referr'd to in this Volume.

The Pope's Letter to perſuade Henry VIII. *to take Queen* Katherine *to his Bed again.*

TO our moſt dear Son in *Chriſt*, *&c.* Health and Apoſtolical Benediction. What in our tender Affection towards you, for the Sake of both your Honour here and your Salvation hereafter, we ſhould be glad to find falſe, has been reported to us, and by many Hands confirm'd, concerning your Highneſs, that altho', not only before but ſince the Controverſy has been depending about the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage Contract, between yourſelf and our moſt dear Daughter in *Chriſt*, the moſt excellent *Katherine* Queen of *England*, you entertain'd the ſaid *Katherine* in your Palace, and liv'd with her as your Queen and Wife, as it was fitting you ſhould do, yet now of late you have not only remov'd her from your Perſon and Court, but have baniſh'd her from the City, the uſual Place of her Reſidence, and ſent her to another Place, taking in her room publickly to your Bed and Converſation, a certain Lady *Anne* with whom you cohabit,

and to whom you ſhew that conjugal Love and Affection which is only due to your Wife the ſaid Queen: Which thing, moſt dear Son, if it be true, and you would lay aſide carnal Affections, and give yourſelf leiſure to think, we doubt not, but that altho' we were ſilent herein, you would ſoon perceive upon how many ſeveral Accounts it is unworthy your Highneſs, either as it is a great Contempt of our Judgment and Sentence, which you thus refuſe to ſtay for; as it is a publick Scandal to the Church; or as it is a manifeſt Violation of the publick Peace; all which things are ſo contrary to the Principles of a virtuous and religious Prince, as we have always eſteem'd your Highneſs, that tho' they have daily more and more been confirm'd unto us, yet we have found great Difficulty to believe them, as things wholly repugnant to your Nature, and perfectly contrary to your Uſage; for what can be more unnatural to you, or leſs agreeable to your Integrity, on one hand, both by your Letters and by your Ambaſſadors, to implore our Aſſiſtance in determining your Cauſe, and on the other by your Actions to judge and decide it your own ſelf? To contemn the Authority of the Church by ſuch a Proceeding, how unlike is it to the Actions of him who has ſo well defended by the Power of the Sword, and by the Strength of Argument, our moſt holy Faith and the Catholick Church? Surely the publick Peace and Tranquility, have by no Prince of our Age been more carefully preſerv'd than by you, who piouſly undertook a War for the Church, glorioufly

proſecuted

proſecuted it, and at length, for the ſake of publick Peace and Quiet, deſiſted from it; from whence your Highneſs has been juſtly eſteem'd the Arbiter of Peace and common Concord among *Chriſtian* Princes. Wherefore when we hear theſe ſtrange things concerning you, it raiſeth both our Admiration and encreaſeth our Grief, that this one Action of yours, if it be true, ſhould caſt a Blemiſh upon the Glory of your former Life and Behaviour. Wherefore, as we could not but enquire into the Truth hereof more carefully, and ought not to paſs by a Matter of this Weight with Neglect, we were willing to ſend you this kind Admonition, as of a loving and Affectionate Father, before we are forc'd to deal with you in the ſeverer Methods of an impartial Judge. The high Dignity of your Majeſty, your moſt deſerving Services to us, and our moſt tender Love and Affection to you, makes us chuſe to act towards you with all Reſpect and Gentleneſs, in the Perſon of a kind Parent, and ſo long lay aſide our Office as a Judge, till by your Letters we ſhall ſee what Meaſures will be moſt proper for us to take. We wiſh, dear Son, as we have ſaid, that theſe things were falſe, or at leaſt not ſo bad as they are repreſented to us; and further, that you yourſelf would take ſuch care of your ſingular Wiſdom, that no Body may in this thing have Occaſion to ſpeak ill of your Highneſs, whoſe Virtues have in all other your Actions been ſo conſpicuous; for if any Catholick to his great Grief, or any Heretick to his mighty Joy, ſhould hear that you have now remov'd a far

off

off from your Bed and Preſence, your Queen whom you married, the Daughter of a King, the Aunt of the Emperor and King of the *Romans*, after ſhe had liv'd with you more than twenty Years, and had ſeveral Children by you; that you have openly taken another Woman to your Bed, not only without our Licenſe and Diſpenſation, but alſo contrary to our expreſs Prohibition; he cannot but in ſome Meaſure make this Judgment of the beſt of Kings, that he is one that little regards the Authority of the Church, and nothing values the publick Peace; than which we are ſatisfied nothing can be farther from your Highneſs's Will and Intention; inſomuch, that ſhould any one in your Kingdom dare to do this which is reported of your Highneſs, we ſurely know, that you would be ſo far from approving, that you would moſt ſeverely puniſh it. Wherefore, my Son, as we moſt certainly believe, as your Knowledge is rightly inform'd herein, ſo ought your Practice to be ſuch as not to give Occaſion to ſcandalous Reports, eſpecially in theſe dangerous Times, which ſo abound with Hereſies, and other moſt grievous Calamities, leſt what you do ſhould grow a Precedent and Example for others; for the Actions of Princes, eſpecially thoſe ſo illuſtrious as your Highneſs, are look'd upon as Marks and Patterns whereto others may direct their Aim, and whereby they may form their Practice; nor ought your Highneſs to neglect the common Safety, and overlook the Peace and Tranquility of *Chriſtendom*, to which the beſt of Princes have never fail'd to

pay,

pay, as in Duty bound, a Regard. Nor ought you, my Son, to offer this Injury to the moſt ſerene Princes, the Emperor and the King of the *Romans*, the ſaid Queen *Katherine*'s Nephews, who have never given you Offence, by thus proceeding before your Cauſe is determin'd, thereby diſturbing that univerſal Peace among *Chriſtian* Princes, wherein alone our Safety from the *Turks* conſiſts, leſt you give Occaſion of much Scandal in the Church, and of great Danger in the *Chriſtian* World, and ſo provoke the Almighty ſo far as to change the great Bleſſings he has ſo long pour'd down upon you into Bitterneſs and Affliction. We therefore, of our tender Love and Affection exhort you, and of our paternal Duty warn you, my Son, that for the ſake of that kind Indulgence and Favour which we have always ſhewn, and ſhall continue ever to ſhew you, unleſs you hinder us, that, if theſe things be true that tarniſh your former Reputation of Piety and Glory, you yourſelf would amend them by affectionately taking again to yourſelf, your Queen *Katherine*, by giving her the Honour and Reſpect due to a Queen, and the Tenderneſs and Affection due to a Wife, and by removing the ſaid Lady *Anne* from your Bed and Converſation, ſo long at leaſt till your Cauſe ſhall be determin'd, and we have given Sentence herein; which altho' it be no more than your Duty, and what will greatly conduce to your Honour and advance your Glory, yet we ſhall take it as a great Mark of your Highneſs's Reſpect and good Will towards us; for as our moſt earneſt Deſire is always

always to preſerve in you your good Eſteem of us, and your cuſtomary Duty and Affection to the Apoſtolical See, which in your Regard and your Actions you have never fail'd to ſhew, ſo we cannot without the greateſt Grief, betake ourſelves to the ſharper Remedies of Juſtice, to which the Indignity offer'd to our own Perſon herein, which we can willingly paſs by, could never prompt us, nor indeed can any thing force us to it, but the Honour of Almighty God, the Advancement of the publick Good, and the Salvation of your immortal Soul, as our Nuntio with you has Orders more fully to acquaint your Highneſs.

Given at St. Peter's, *under the Seal of the Fiſherman,* January *the* 25*th,* 1532, *in the* 9*th Year of our Pontificate.*

Archbiſhop

Archbiſhop Cranmer's *Sentence, whereby Queen* Katherine *was divorc'd from* Henry VIII.

IN the Name of God, *Amen.* We *Thomas*, by Divine Permiſſion Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolical See, in a certain Cauſe of Enquiry of and concerning the Validity of the Marriage contracted and conſummated between the moſt Potent and moſt Illuſtrious Prince our Sovereign Lord *Henry* VIII. by the Grace of God King of *England* and *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, and the moſt ſerene Princeſs *Katherine*, Daughter of his moſt Catholick Majeſty *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, *&c.* of glorious Memory; we proceeding according to Law and Juſtice in the ſaid Cauſe, which has been brought judicially before us, in Virtue of our Office, and which for ſome time has lain under Examination, as it ſtill is, being not yet finally determin'd and decided, having firſt ſeen all the Articles and Pleas, which have been exhibited and ſet forth of her part, together with the Anſwers made thereto and given in on the part of the ſaid moſt Illuſtrious and Powerful Prince *Henry* VIII. having likewiſe ſeen and diligently inſpected the Informations and Depoſitions of many Noblemen, and other Witneſſes of unſuſpected Veracity, exhibited in the ſaid Cauſe; having alſo ſeen, and in like manner carefully conſider'd, not only the Cenſures and Decrees of the moſt famous Univerſities

of almoſt the whole *Chriſtian* World, but likewiſe the Opinions and Determinations both of the moſt eminent Divines and Civilians, as alſo the Reſolutions and Concluſions of the Clergy of both Provinces of *England* in Convocation aſſembled, and many other wholeſome Inſtructions and Doctrines, which have been given in and laid before us concerning the ſaid Marriage; having further ſeen, and with like Diligence inſpected, all the Treaties and Leagues of Peace and Amity on this Account, enter'd upon and concluded between *Henry* VII. of immortal Fame, late King of *England*, and the ſaid *Ferdinand* of glorious Memory, late King of *Spain*; having beſides ſeen, and moſt carefully weigh'd, all and every of the Acts, Debates, Letters, Proceſſes, Inſtruments, Writs, Arguments, and all other things which have paſs'd and been tranſacted in the ſaid Cauſe at any time; in all which thus ſeen and inſpected, our moſt exact Care in examining, and our moſt mature Deliberation in weighing them, hath by us been us'd, reſerving herein whatever of Right ought to be by us reſerv'd. Furthermore, the ſaid moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Powerful Prince King *Henry* VIII. in the fore-mention'd Cauſe, by his proper Proctor, having appear'd before us; but the ſaid moſt Serene Lady *Katherine*, in Contempt abſenting herſelf (whoſe Abſence may the Divine Preſence always attend) by and with the Advice of the moſt Learned in the Law, and of Perſons of moſt eminent Skill in Divinity, whom we have conſulted in the Premiſſes, we have found it our Duty

to

to proceed to give our final Decree and Definitive Sentence in the said Cause, which accordingly we do in this manner. Because by Acts, Warrants, Deductions, Propositions, Exhibitions, Allegations, Proofs, and Confessions; Articles drawn up, Answers of Witnesses, Depositions, Informations, Instruments, Arguments, Letters, Writs, Censures, Determinations of Professors, Opinions, Councils, Assertions, Affirmations, Treaties and Leagues of Peace, Processes, and other Matters in the said Cause, as is above-mention'd before us laid, had, done, exhibited, and respectively produc'd, as also from the same and sundry other Reasons, Causes, and Considerations, manifold Arguments, and various kinds of Proof, of the greatest Evidence, Strength and Validity, of which, in the said Cause, we have fully and clearly inform'd ourselves, we find, and with undeniable Evidence and Plainness see, that the Marriage contracted and consummated as is aforesaid, between the said most Illustrious Prince King *Henry* VIII. and the most Serene Lady *Katherine*, was, and is, null and invalid, and that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the Law of God: Therefore we *Thomas*, Archbishop, Primate, and Legate aforesaid, having first call'd upon the Name of *Christ* for Direction herein, and having God always before our Eyes, do pronounce Sentence, and declare for the Nullity and Invalidity of the said Marriage, decreeing that the said pretended Marriage always was, and still is, null and invalid; that it was contracted and consummated contrary to the

Will and Law of God; that it is of no Force or Obligation, but that it always wanted, and ſtill wants, the Strength and Sanction of Law, and therefore, we ſentence, decree and declare, that it is not lawful for the ſaid moſt Illuſtrious and Powerful Prince *Henry* VIII. and the ſaid moſt Serene Lady *Katherine* to remain in the ſaid pretended Marriage, and we do ſeparate and divorce from each other, the ſaid moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Powerful King *Henry* VIII. and the ſaid moſt Illuſtrious Lady *Katherine*, in as much as they contracted and conſummated the ſaid pretended Marriage *de facto*, and not *de jure*; and that they, ſo ſeparated and divorc'd, are abſolutely free from all Marriage-Bond, with regard to the aforeſaid pretended Marriage, we do pronounce, decree and declare, by this our definitive Sentence and final Decree, which we now give, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents publiſh.

May 23, 1533.

Queen

Queen Anne Bolein's *Letter to King* Henry VIII. *when ſhe was a Priſoner in the* Tower.

SIR,

YOUR Grace's Diſpleaſure and my Impriſonment are Things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write or what to excuſe I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (Willing me to confeſs a Truth and ſo obtain your Favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be my antient profeſs'd Enemy, I no ſooner receiv'd this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceiv'd your meaning; and as if, as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed may procure my Safety, I ſhall with all Willingneſs and Duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a Fault, where not ſo much as a Thought thereof ever preceded. And to ſpeak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more Loyal in all Duty and in all true Affection than you have ever found in *Anne Bolein*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented myſelf if God and your Grace's Pleaſure had ſo been pleaſed: Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my Exaltation or receiv'd Queenſhip, but that I always look'd for ſuch an Alteration as now I find; for the Ground of my Preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt Alteration I know was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me from a low

low Eſtate to be your Queen and Companion far beyound my Deſert or Deſire; if then you found me worthy of ſuch Honour, Good your Grace, let not any light Fancy, or bad Council of mine Enemies withdraw your Princely Favour from me, neither let that Stain, that unworthy Stain of a Diſloyal Heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a Blot on your moſt Dutiful Wife, and the Infant Princeſs your Daughter. Try me good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth ſhall fear no open Shames. Then ſhall you ſee either mine Innocency clear'd, your Suſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the Ignominy and Slander of the World ſtopp'd, or my Guilt openly declar'd; ſo that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open Cenſure, and mine Offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at Liberty both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy Puniſhment on me as an unfaithful Wife, but to follow your Affection already ſettled on that Party for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto your Grace, being not Ignorant of my Suſpicion therein.

But if you have already determin'd of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous Slander muſt bring you the enjoying of your deſir'd Happineſs, then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great Sin therein, and likewiſe mine Enemies, the Inſtruments thereof,

thereof, and that he will not call you to a ſtrict Account for your unprincely and cruel Uſage of me at his General Judgment Seat, where both you and myſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe Judgment I doubt not (whatſoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence ſhall be openly known and ſufficiently clear'd.

My laſt and only Requeſt ſhall be that my ſelf may only bear the Burthen of your Grace's Diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait Impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found Favour in your Sight, if ever the Name of *Anne Bolein* hath been pleaſing in your Ears, then let me obtain this Requeſt, and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further with mine earneſt Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Priſon in the *Tower* this 6th of *May*,

Your moſt Loyal

And ever Faithful Wife

Anne Bolein.

Biſhop

Bishop Latimer's *Observations on the raising of Rents in the Reign of* Edward VI.

Strype's Memo. Vol. II. p. 438.

HE relates that the Nobility and great Men were grown so extremely Covetous, that they demanded four times the Rent their Tenants antiently paid, whith occasion'd a Dearth among the Common People that continu'd two or three Years (notwithstanding there was plenty of all Things) for the Prices of Corn, Cattle, Poultry, Fruit, *&c.* were rais'd in Proportion to the Rents: He adds, that his Father was a Yeoman of *Leicestershire*, and had no Land of his own, only he had a Farm of three or four Pounds a Year at the utmost. And hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen Men; he had walk for an hundred Sheep, and his Mother milked thirty Kine; he was able, and did find the King a Harness with himself and his Horse while he came to the Place that he should receive the King's Wages. *Latimer* remembred how he buckled his Father's Harness when he went to *Blackheath-Field*. He kept this his Son at School until he was fit for the University, and maintain'd him there: He married his Daughters with five Pounds, or Twenty Nobles a-piece; he kept Hospitality for his poor Neighbours, and some Alms he gave to the Poor. And all this he did out of the said Farm; whereas he that had the same Farm in King *Edward*'s Days paid sixteen Pounds by the Year or more, and was not able to do any Thing for his Prince, for himself, nor for his Children, or give a Cup of Drink to the Poor.

The

The Expences of the King's Houſhold from the laſt Year of *Henry* VIII. to the laſt Year of *Edward* VI.

				l.	s.	d.
The laſt half Year of King *Henry* VIII. 28080 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* And the firſt half Year of King *Edward* VI. 21107 *l.* 4 *s.* 6 *d.*	In all for one whole Year	—	—	49187	18	8
The ſecond whole Year of King *Edward*'s Reign		—	—	46902	7	3
The third Year of his Reign		—	—	46100	3	11
The fourth Year of his Reign		—	—	100578	16	4
The fifth Year of his Reign		—	—	62863	9	1
The ſixth Year of his Reign		—	—	65923	16	4

During theſe three laſt Years of the King his Prerogative [of taking up Proviſions I ſuppoſe at an eaſy Rate] ceas'd, which heightned the Account of his Houſhold Ex-

pences. Another Reaſon might be the raiſing the Price of Proviſions on the raiſing of Rents as above.

Queen Katherine Parr's *Letter to the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *which had addreſs'd to her to intercede with the King for them upon an Act whereby the Parliament had given him all Colleges, Chauntries and Free Chappels.*

Strype's Memoirs, 2 Vol. Orig. *p.* 39.

YOUR Letters I have receyved preſented on al your Behalfes by Mr. Dr. *Smyth* your diſcrete and lernyd Advocate: And as they be Latynely written (which is ſo ſignified unto me by thoſe that be Lernyd in the Latyne Tongue) ſo I know you could have utterryd your Deſyres and Opynions famyliarly in your Vulgar Tongue aptyſt for myIntelligence. Albeyt you ſeem to have conceyved rather percyally than truly a favourable Eſtimation both of my going forward and Dedycation to Lernying, whych t' advance, or at the leaſt conſerve you by your Letters, move me diverſly; ſchewying how agreeable it is to me being in this worldly State, not only for myne own Part to be Studyous, but alſo a Mayntener and Cheryſcher of the lernyd State by beryng me in hand that I am indued and perfeited with thoſe Qualytes and Reſpects which ought to be in a Perſon of my Vocation: Truely thys your Diſcrete and Polytike Document, I as thankfully accept as yon deſyre that I ſhould embrace it: And for as much as I do wel underſtand all kynd of Lernying doth floryſſche amongſt you in this Age, as it did amongſt the *Greeks* at

at *Athens* long ago; I requyre and desire you al not so to honger for the exquisite Knowledge of prophane Lernyng, that it may be thowght the *Greeks* University was but transposed, or now in *England* ageyne revyved, forgettyng our Christianity, syncee their Excellencye only did atteyne to Moral and Natural Things: but rather I gentylly exhort you to study and apply those Doctrines as Means and apt Degrees to the atteynyng and setting forth the better Chryst's reverend and most sacred Doctrine; that it may not be layd ageynst you in Evydence at the Tribunal Seat of God, how ye were asschamed of Chryst's Doctryne: For thys Latyn Lesson I am taught to say of St. *Paul*, *Non me pudet Evangelij:* The syncere settying forth whereof I trust universally in all your Vocations and Mynysteries you woll apply and Confourm your sondry Gyfts, Arts and Studies to such end and sort, that *Cambridge* may be accompted rather an University of Divine Phylosoply then of natural or moral, as *Athens* was.

Upon the Confidence of whych your Accomplyschment to my Expectation Zele and Request, I accordyng to your Desyres attempted my Lord the King's Majesty for the stay of your Possessions: In whych, notwythstanding his Majesty's Property and Intrest throwgh the Consent of the High Court of Parliament, hys Hyeghness being such a Patron to good Lernyng, he woll rather advance and erect new Occasion therefore than confound those your Colleges; so that Lernyng may hereafter ascribe her very Oryginal,

hole Conſervation and ſure Stay to our Sovereyne Lord his only Defence and Worthy Ornament. The proſperous Eſtate and Princely Government of whom long to preſerve I doubt not but every of you woll with dayly Invocatyon cal upon hym, who alone and only can dyſpoſe al to every Creature.

The

The last Speech of King Henry VIII. *to his Parliament.*

ALTHO' my Chancellor for the time being, hath before this time us'd very eloquently and ſubſtantially, to make Anſwer to ſuch Orations as have been ſet forth in this High Court of Parliaments, yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my Mind and Meaning, and the Secrets of my Heart, in ſo plain and ample manner as I myſelf am, and can do. Wherefore, I taking upon me to anſwer your eloquent Oration (Mr. Speaker) ſay, that where you, in the Name of our well beloved Commons, have both prais'd and extoll'd me for the noble Qualities that you have conceiv'd to be in me, I moſt heartily thank you all that you have put me in Remembrance of my Duty, which is to endeavour my ſelf to obtain and get ſuch excellent Qualities, and neceſſary Virtues, as a Prince or Governor ſhould or ought to have, of which Gifts I recognize myſelf both bare and barren; but of ſuch ſmall Qualities as God hath indu'd me withal, I render to his Goodneſs my moſt humble Thanks, intending with all my Wit and Diligence, to get and acquire to me ſuch notable Virtues and princely Qualities as you have alledg'd to be incorporated in my Perſon. Theſe Thanks for your loving Admonition and good Counſel firſt remember'd, I eftſoons thank you again, becauſe that you conſidering our great Charge (not for our Pleaſure but for your Defence, not for our gain but to our great Coſt, which we have

have lately ſuſtain'd, as well in Defence againſt our and your Enemies, as for the Conqueſt of that Fortreſs which was to this Realm moſt diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be (by God's Grace) hereafter to our Nation moſt profitable and pleaſant) have freely of your own Minds, granted to us a certain Subſidy here in an Act ſpecified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your Kindneſs than the Profit thereof, as he that fetteth more by your loving Hearts than by your Subſtance. Beſides this hearty Kindneſs, I cannot a little rejoice when I conſider the perfect Truſt and Confidence which you have put in me, as Men having undoubted Hope and unfeigned Belief, in my good Doing and juſt Proceedings for you, without my Deſire or Requeſt, have committed to mine Order and Diſpoſition, all Chantries, Colleges, Hoſpitals, and other Places ſpecified in a certain Act, firmly truſting that I will order them to the Glory of God, and to the Profit of the Common-Wealth; ſurely, if I (contrary to your Expectation) ſhould ſuffer the Miniſters of the Church to decay, or Learning (which is ſo great a Jewel) to be miniſh'd, or poor and miſerable People to be unrelieved, you might ſay that I being put into ſo ſpecial a Truſt as I am in this Caſe, were no truſty Friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Chriſtian, neither a Lover to the publick Wealth, nor yet one that feareth God, to whom Account muſt be render'd of all our Doings. Doubt not I pray you, but your Expectation ſhall be ſerv'd more godly and goodly than you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly

plainly perceive. Now ſith I find ſuch Kindneſs in your part towards me, I cannot chuſe but love and favour you, affirming that no Prince in the World more favoureth his Subjects than I do you, nor no Subjects or Commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord than I perceive you do, for whoſe Defence my Treaſure ſhall not be hidden, nor (if Neceſſity require) my Perſon ſhall not be unadventur'd. Yet altho' I wiſh you, and you wiſh me, to be in this perfect Love and Concord, this friendly Amity cannot continue except both you, my Lords Temporal and my Lords Spiritual, and you my loving Subjects, ſtudy and take pains to amend one thing which ſurely is amiſs, and far out of Order, to the which I moſt heartily require you; which is, that Charity and Concord is not amongſt you, but Diſcord and Diſſention beareth Rule in every place. St. *Paul* ſaith to the *Corinthians*, the 13th Chapter, Charity is gentle; Charity is not envious; Charity is not proud, and ſo forth, in the ſaid Chapter. Behold then what Love and Charity is amongſt you, when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptiſt, and he calleth him again Papiſt, Hypocrite and Phariſee? Be theſe Tokens of Charity amongſt you? Are theſe Signs of fraternal Love betwixt you? No, no, I aſſure you that this lack of Charity among yourſelves will be the Hindrance and Aſſuaging of the fervent Love betwixt us (as I ſaid before) except this Wound be ſalv'd and clearly made whole. I muſt needs judge the Fault and Occaſion of this Diſcord to be partly by the

the Negligence of you the Fathers and Preachers of this Spirituality; for if I know a Man which liveth in Adultery, I muſt judge him a lecherous and carnal Perſon; if I ſee a Man brag and boaſt himſelf, I cannot but deem him a proud Man: I hear daily that you of the Clergy preach one againſt another, without Charity or Diſcretion; ſome be too ſtiff in their old *Mumpſimus*, others be too buſy and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*. Thus all Men almoſt be in Variety and Diſcord, and few or none preach truly and ſincerely the Word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable Perſons doing this? No, no, I cannot ſo do. Alas! how can the poor Souls live in Concord, when you Preachers ſow amongſt them in your Sermons Debate and Diſcord? Of you they look Light, and you bring them to Darkneſs. Amend theſe Crimes I exhort you, and ſet forth God's Word, both by true Preaching and good Example giving; or elſe, I whom God hath appointed his Vicar and High Miniſter here, will ſee theſe Diviſions extinct, and theſe Enormities corrected according to my very Duty, or elſe I am an unprofitable Servant and untrue Officer. Altho' I ſay the Spiritual Men be in ſome Fault that Charity is not kept among them, yet the Temporality be not clear and unſpotted of Malice and Envy; for you rail on Biſhops, ſpeak ſlanderouſly of Prieſts, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, both contrary to good Order and Chriſtian Fraternity. If you know ſurely that a Biſhop or Preacher erreth, or teacheth perverſe Doctrine, come and declare it to

ſome

ſome of our Council, or to us, to whom is committed by God, the High Authority to reform and order ſuch Cauſes and Behaviours, and be not Judges of yourſelves of your phantaſtical Opinions and vain Expoſitions. In ſuch high Cauſes you may lightly err, and altho' you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures, and to have the Word of God in your Mother Tongue, you muſt underſtand that it is licens'd you ſo to do, only to inform your own Conſciencies, and to inſtruct your Children and Families, and not to diſpute and make Scripture a railing and taunting Stock againſt Prieſts and Preachers, as many light Perſons do; I am very ſorry to know and hear how unreverently that moſt precious Jewel the Word of God is diſputed, rhim'd, ſung, and jangled in every Alehouſe and Tavern, contrary to the true Meaning and Doctrine of the ſame; and yet I am even as much ſorry that the Readers of the ſame follow it in doing ſo faintly and ſo coldly, for of this I am ſure, that Charity was never ſo faint amongſt you, and virtuous and godly Living was never leſs us'd, nor God himſelf among Chriſtians, was never leſs reverenc'd, honour'd or ſerv'd; therefore, as I ſaid before, be in Charity one with another, like Brother and Brother, love, dread, and ſerve God, to the which I as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord exhort and require you, and then I doubt not, but that Love and League that I ſpake of in the beginning, ſhall never be diſſolv'd or broken betwixt us.

To the making of Laws, which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the Makers, to be diligent in the putting them in Execution, as you were in the making and furthering of the ſame, or elſe your Labour ſhall be in vain, and your Common-Wealth nothing reliev'd. And now to your Petition, concerning our Royal Aſſent to be given to ſuch Acts as have paſs'd both Houſes they ſhall be read openly that you may hear them. *And ſo they being read the King aſſented and roſe.*

THE

THE

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